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‘Our true intent is all for your delight’:

**Placing Materiality, Mobility, Atmosphere, and
Affect at Scotland’s Travelling Fairgrounds**

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy (Ph.D.)

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Abstract

Travelling fairgrounds have toured Scotland since the late-eighteenth century. Today, the arrival of the fair remains a staple feature of annual civic festivities in towns across the country, from Ayr to Elgin and everywhere in between. The much-loved fairground experience is dependent on the manufacture and design of movable machinery that magically transforms into looping, spinning, whirling, and flashing objects. The traditional array of amusement rides, supporting stalls, and food concessions that go to make ‘all the fun of the fair’, are owned and transported by family firms, several of whom have a long history in the trade spanning multiple generations. These Showpeople have multiple geographies of their own, combining year-round communities and seasonal journeys according to a recognised calendar of fairs. Travelling between towns across Scotland enables Showpeople to share their craft, heritage, and history with thrill-seeking publics. Although recognised by Scotland’s former first minister as ‘an important part of Scotland’s culture, history, and economy’ (Salmond, 2009), Showpeople have long struggled to find recognition as a community. As such, it is important to examine the material and immaterial geographies of the fair, questioning how they impact awareness of Showpeople in contemporary Scottish society.

Shaped by oral histories and ethnographic experience, this thesis addresses the material and immaterial culture of Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds in terms of design, mobility, and artistry; engages with the production of fairs as spaces of affect and nostalgia; pre-theorises contemporary popular culture; and, critically considers the social constraints placed on travellers in contemporary Scotland. It reconfigures the fairground space and aims to challenge commonplace prejudices associated with the material and immaterial heritage of Scotland’s show-culture and Showpeople. Ultimately, this thesis presents a different representation of Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds, offering insights into the geographies at work in this space.

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Glossary of Fairground Terms

Actuality film – fairground film genre based on reality; these films depicted everyday scenes, including town and village settings, or locals performing daily actions (Toulmin, 2009).

Airbrush artistry – a type of art created with the use of an airbrush; it came into popularity during the 1980s, arising from Graffiti. Today, airbrush artistry has replaced traditional hand-painted styles as the most common art form at travelling fairs.

Articulated Lorry – a truck consisting of two segments; at the fairground, most articulated lorries are fold-out ghost trains or fun houses. Additionally, articulated lorries are also sometimes used to transport smaller joints and spare parts between fairs.

Association of Independent Showmen – a registered trade union designed to represent the rights and voices of Independent Showmen, not part of the ‘Showmen’s Guild’.

Blagging – a spiel used by Showpeople to entice customers; it is an oral artform, often associated with ‘the gift of the gab’.

Bioscope – a general term for the historic travelling booths used to display fairground films.

Charter fair – a fair established by grant of the Royal charter.

Carousel – American term for merry-go-round.

Carriage – colloquial term for a ride seat that you climb into; they have safety bars placed across riders to keep them safe.

Dialectograms – large, detailed illustrations of places presented from the perspective of the individuals and communities who live and work there, *and* the person who tries to interpret those perspectives.

Dodgems – amusement consisting of electrically-powered cars with rubber cushions; dodgems are driven in an enclosure with the aim of crashing into other people.

Enthusiasts – members of the public who have an avid interest in, and active knowledge of, fairground culture.

Fairgoers – members of the public who attend the fair to ride rides, play games, and eat food.

Fairground – an area where a fair is held; or alternatively, the physical creation of the fairground tober.

Flattie – Showpeople’s term for non-Showpeople; specifically, fairgoers.

Funhouse – a supporting fairground joint often equipped with trick mirrors, undulating floors, moving steps, and an oscillating tunnel designed to scare or amuse fairgoers as they walk through it.

Gaffe hands – Showperson’s colloquial term for members of the public whom they employ on a seasonal basis to assist with set-up and take-down processes, as well as the movement of rides.

Gaffe lads – as above. Showperson’s colloquial term for seasonally employed members of the public who aid with construction, teardown, and ride movement (such as spinning Waltzer carriages).

Galloper – Showpeople’s term for a merry-go-round horse; though it is also used to refer to other merry-go-round objects that perform the traditional undulating motion, depending on design.

Generator – a transportable machine used by Showpeople for converting mechanical energy into electricity. Generators are used across the travelling fair to power rides, stalls, and living wagons for the duration of the fair. Also referred to as mobile generators throughout.

Ghost Train – a miniature train designed to scare and spook fairgoers with sights and sounds; often the ghost train implements jump-scaries to achieve this effect.

Hook-A-Duck – a traditional fairground game where rubber ducks with hooks in them float in the water; the aim for the fairgoer is to fish a ‘winning’ duck out of the water.

Hoopla – traditionally, a fairground game where the object was to toss a hoop over an object. In Scotland, the term hoopla is *also* used by Showpeople to refer to supporting game stalls.

Independent Showmen – individuals not registered as part of the ‘Scottish Showmen’s Guild’ or ‘Showmen’s Guild’. Most, though not all, Independent Showmen are part of the ‘Association of Independent Showmen’.

Inflatable – a plastic or rubber object (usually a bounce house) that is filled with air to create an inflated structure; inflatables are a common supporting feature at fairgrounds.

Joint – Showpeople’s term for game stalls.

Juvenile – Showpeople’s term for children’s rides.

Kiosk – Showpeople’s term for food stalls and food trucks.

Lessee – the person, organisation, or company who arranges and manages the fair in exchange for ‘rent’.

Living Wagon – the transportable caravans owned by Showpeople; living wagons are their living quarters while on the road.

Mobile generator – an electric generator used to power rides, stalls, and living wagons for the duration of the fair.

Mop fairs – traditional fairs developed to hire labourers between the mid-13th century and early-20th centuries.

Pay-as-you-go fair – a fairground wherein fairgoers only pay for each activity they partake in.

Pay-per-ride fair – as above; a fairground wherein fairgoers pay for each activity they partake in.

Punters – Showpeople’s vernacular for fairgoers; particularly, those who are actively [and sometimes rowdily] involved in experiencing the fair.

Roundabout – Showpeople’s colloquial term for a merry-go-round.

Rounding boards – decorative wooden boards used to decorate the tops of rides; predominantly, these are decorated in bright colours and display themes of popular culture. Rounding boards are there to hide the mechanisms of the rides and stalls, as well as to offer a visual stimulant.

Scottish Showmen’s Guild – registered trade union designed to protect the rights and voices of its members in Scotland. It is a chapter of the ‘Showmen’s Guild of Great Britain’.

Session fair – a fair at which fairgoers pay a flat entry fee that allows them to go on as many rides as they want (or a pre-determined selection, depending on the lessee) for a limited amount of time. Usually sessions last between two and three hours each, though this is dependent on the lessee.

Shed – a roofed structure used for storage of Showpeople’s equipment; these sheds can be found in Showpeople’s yards.

Show-calendar – calendar of fairs announcing fair dates for the coming season.

Show-culture – traditions of Showpeople, including events, oral histories, and materials.

Show-families – families involved in the fairground trade.

Show ground – the physical ground of the fair space.

Showman – men or women performers involved in the fairground trade. Showman is a vernacular term used by Showpeople to refer to their own, though the inclusion of women under this term depends on who you are speaking with.

Showmen – the men and women involved in the fairground trade. This is not a derogatory or sexist term, but rather one taken direct from the colloquialisms of Showpeople.

Showmen’s Guild of Great Britain – a registered trade union designed to protect the rights and voices of its member within the UK, previously known as the ‘Van Dwellers Association’. It was formed in 1889 and today consists of 10 different regional chapters, each who deal with matters of their local area. These include Notts. and Derby; Eastern Counties; Lancashire; London and Home Counties; Midland; Northern; Scottish; South Wales and Northern Ireland; Western; and, Yorkshire (Showmen’s Guild of Great Britain, 2020).

Showpeople – men and women involved in the fairground trade.

Show-woman – a woman involved in the fairground trade.

Show-women – women involved in the fairground trade.

Site – the physical location at which a fair is held; for example, a car park, derelict land, park, or arena. This is also a general term for the fair once it has been constructed.

Spiel – an elaborate speech or story used by Showpeople to enchant their audience; this is like the concept of Blagging.

Stall – the collective term for hoopla's, kiosks, and joints. A stall refers to a feature of the fairground that is not a ride.

Street fair – a fairground that takes place along a street; this includes Highstreets and promenades.

Supporting – Showpeople's term used for all fairground items except main rides; the rides are the principal feature of the show, while everything else is there to support, including joints, kiosks, and juveniles.

Swag – Showpeople's vernacular term for prizes available at the fair.

Tober – Showpeople's term for fairground atmosphere, famously defined by David Braithwaite (1968: 21) as: 'a site of joy and excitement, or insatiable curiosity ... commonly referred to as a fairground miracle'.

Travelling fairground – a mobile fairground that travels across the country.

Wagon – another term for a lorry; this is also a term for Showpeople's living quarters.

Waltzer – a fairground ride in which cars spin around as they circle around an undulating track.

Wintering period – the time of the year that Showpeople do not travel. Traditionally, the wintering period took place between October-March; today, however, this varies between individual families.

Wristband Fair – like the session fair. At wristband fairs fairgoers pay a flat rate in exchange for a wristband that allows them unlimited access to certain rides and stalls.

Yard – Showpeople's term for their housing site. Most Showpeople reside in static caravans (living wagons) in yards with other Showpeople. Most yards house between 30-100 living wagons.

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contributions of other people, this is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature:

Printed name: Elisabeth Alice Lacsny

Chapter 1. “Our true intent is all for your delight”

Imagine a place perpetually in motion and transition, one allowing people to transform identities and shed inhibitions, where memories are made in intensities of sound, smell, colour, and taste. Remember a site where the affective experiences of laughing, shrieking, crying, shouting, and even feeling nauseous, generate nostalgia – Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds are all this and so much more.

1.1. Opening night at the travelling fair

Akin to a ceremonial opening, wherein historical customs ‘such as ringing a special bell ... [or] throwing newly minted pennies into the crowd’ (Trowell, 2017b: 218) connote and celebrate the fairs inauguration, this introduction presents itself as an ‘opening night’ of sorts; a chapter that introduces the manifold historical, cultural, and social geographies of the fair, creating an ethnographic narrative of times past and present. As an early caveat and to avoid later confusion, throughout this thesis the following terms are used synonymously: Showpeople, Showperson, and Showman. These labels are not derogatory or sexist, rather have been directly sourced from the colloquial vernacular of Showpeople.

An unassuming or generic description of the fair might include ‘an event held in a park or field at which people pay to ride on various machines for amusement or try to win prizes in games’ (Collins Dictionary, 2019). While this no-frills definition is apt in describing what a travelling fair is at first impression, it does not touch upon any of the charming or distinctive qualities that make Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds the distinctive ‘pleasure-lands’ they are. For this, we must delve into the world of the fair.

Travelling fairgrounds are mysterious and sensory, with their own inimitable atmosphere; spaces where materials and histories combine to create a mechanised ‘tober’, a specialist term describing ‘a site of joy and excitement, or insatiable curiosity ... commonly referred to as a fairground miracle’ (Braithwaite, 1968: 21). It is mysterious and enigmatic, yet simultaneously, open, inviting, and enthralling; an entertainment phenomenon that has existed in multiple guises across time (see also: National Fairground and Circus Archive (NFCA), 2020). It is a culture developed by celebrating its past, living its present, and always thinking of its future: a phenomenon that lives.

In the current social and political climate, Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds present complex geographies rooted in differing material and immaterial manifestations, *and* among the traditions of Showpeople whose livelihood depends on entertaining thrill-seeking publics. In

Scotland today, 4000 individuals identifying as Showpeople continue to pursue this trade as their primary source of income.¹ These fairground spaces provide sites of employment and business, but also constitute social scenes of everyday activities and interactions. Almost all show-families have an extended history in the trade, spanning multiple generations; it is a profession determined by birth, lived in life, and commemorated in death.

While fairs continue to be a popular source of entertainment, it is reasonable to suggest that the novelty and charm once associated with them is subject to variations in fortune and taste. Modern technologies and changes in lifestyle constitute a threat to the existence of these fairs and the livelihoods of modern Showpeople. To understand this impact, it is important to consider the fair's historical contributions, current competences, and future possibilities.

1.2. Travelling fairgrounds in Britain: a brief historical geography

Travelling fairgrounds have regaled the British Isles since the early 1300s, though find their entertainment origins in seasonal Greek pagan trade gatherings where diverse forms of entertainment served to amuse vast audiences. Further developed under rule of the Roman Empire, entertainment at trading fairs became a standard feature of society (Downie, 1998). Between 1200 and 1400 British mop fairs observed a new Royal charter inspired by the Christian Church. During this period, celebrations around Michaelmas began to attract a range of nomadic performers and 'crystallised into established [fair] circuits' (Ford and Corble, 2016: n.p.).² By the early eighteenth century, the number of trade fairs warranted by Royal charter had declined, with many transforming into sites of performance showcasing jugglers, actors, and *Commedia dell'arte*, as well as the first fairground 'rides' (Downie, 1998; NFCA, 2020).³

In 1868 steam-power revolutionised the fairground world, bringing it into modernity. Frederick Savage, a Victorian engineer, created what none had seen before: a steam-powered roundabout (NFCA, 2020). With the advent of this modern technology the 'Golden Age' of the fairground commenced, an era often celebrated for its industrial innovations (Weedon and Ward, 2004). Rides such as 'Cakewalks' (Fig. 1.1), 'Switchbacks' (Fig. 1.2), and 'Steam Yachts' (Fig. 1.3) fashioned 'thrill-seeking' atmospheres for fair-going publics and showcased technologies yet unseen (Downie, 1998).

¹ Number of people is a median approximation of individuals in Scotland [only], calculated from figures cited across interviews with Showpeople.

² Michaelmas relates to religious celebrations, traditionally held at Easter.

³ *Commedia dell'arte* is a form of Italian puppet theatre and the predecessor of Britain's 'Punch-and-Judy' (Downie, 1998).



Fig. 1.1: Bowman's 'Jersey Bounce' Cakewalk, Tooting Bec Fair, 1960. Jack Leeson. Reproduced with permission from the National Fairground and Circus Archive, University of Sheffield.



Fig. 1.2: W. Cole's Gondolas, Bridgewater St. Matthew's Fair, 1957. Rowland Scott. Reproduced with permission from the National Fairground and Circus Archive, University of Sheffield.



Fig. 1.3: Jack Hammond's Steam Yachts, Glasgow Green Fair, 06 July 1954. Rowland Scott. Reproduced with permission from the National Fairground and Circus Archive, University of Sheffield.

These rides drastically changed the fairground landscape, shaping it as a site of modernity, ingenuity, and wonder.

In 1896, travelling fairs showcased further novel entertainment phenomena in the form of electric light and moving pictures; features few fairgoers had experienced before. Between 1897 and 1914 'the moving picture industry was shaped ... by the travelling Showmen' (Toulmin, 2001: 136); principally by the Lumiere brothers who pioneered this bioscope invention (NFCA, 2020). Cinema show-booths and migrant Showmen travelled cross-country with their bioscopes to entertain crowds, albeit in sometimes rudimentary conditions. Booths consisted of 'wooden forms for seating, projection equipment, and a decorative front' (Fig. 1.4) (Velez-Serna, 2011: 26) accommodating up to fifty people at a time.

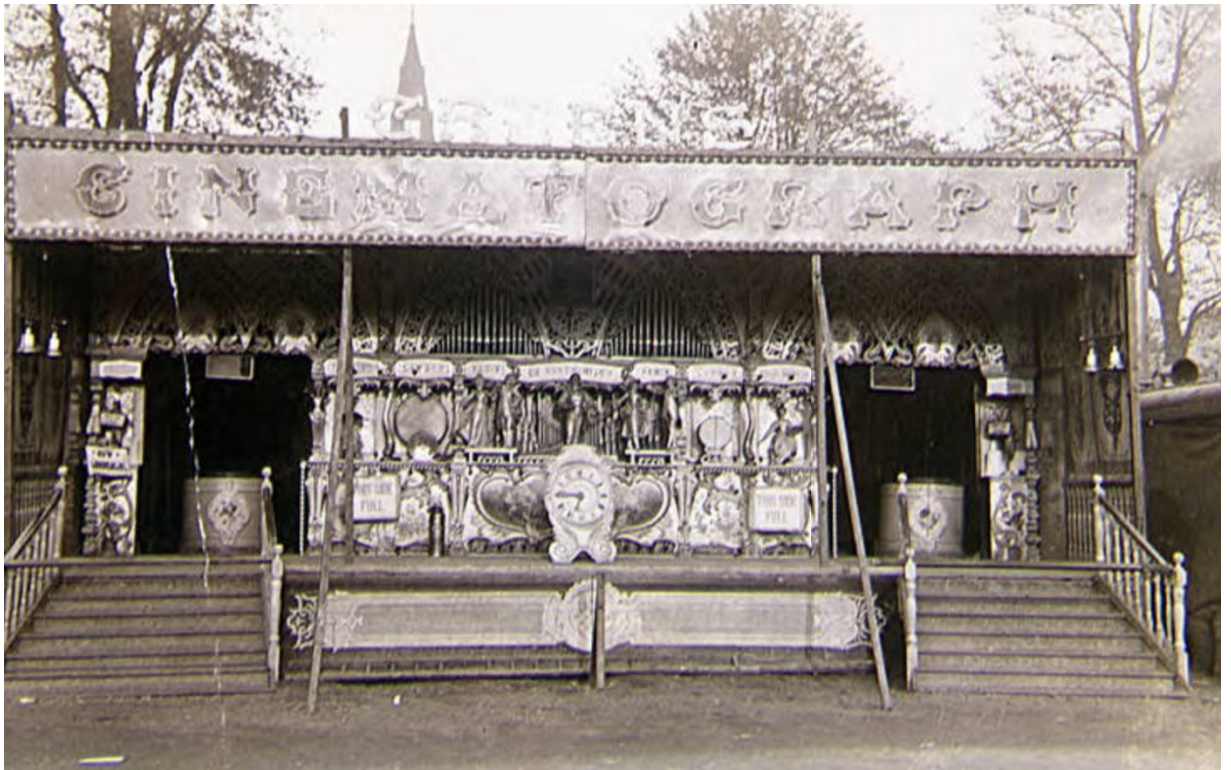


Fig. 1.4: Green's Cinematograph Bioscope, Dumfries Rood Fair, 1907. William Keating. Reproduced with permission from the National Fairground and Circus Archive, University of Sheffield.

George Green, a Glasgow-based Showman, was one of the most successful film exhibitors of his time, showcasing local 'actualities' to entice fair-going publics: '*Highland Dancer*' (1886), '*The Blacksmith*' (1886), and '*The Rough Sea at Dover*' (1886) (Toulmin, 1994: 221) projected images of daily life, including local residents. These bioscope shows were often accompanied by performance; spiels or illusion tricks were designed to attract customers and keep them entertained while films were readied for action. Josephine, a fifth generation Show-woman, divulges a family trade-secret:

'... It was called 'Man-Eating Fish' ... Audiences went in thinking there was going to be this massive creature, but it was just a man sitting eating a fish supper. That was entertainment ... blagging at its best.'

(Interview excerpt. Josephine. 10 April 2017)

By the late-nineteenth century theatrical booths and freak shows began to take over cinema.⁴ Boxing beauties (Fig. 1.5), young women sparring in boxing matches, became a popular feature of the fairground for years to come (Downie, 1998).

⁴ Freak shows are not meant as a derogatory classification, simply a fairground terminology.



Fig. 1.5: Boxing women, Glasgow, circa 1890. Reproduced with permission from the Mitchell Family.

An avid visitor of fairs past and present, Tim recalls a significant moment from his early childhood; one of intrigue and awe:

‘They were gorgeous, absolutely stunnin’. And they were fighting ... two women on stage. I was only a wee boy ... I had never seen anything [like it], and it stuck with me. I will never forget April of 1956.’

(Interview excerpt. Tim. 18 May 2017)

Boxing shows remained a well-established form of fairground entertainment until the 1990s, when the ‘British Board of Boxing Control’ restricted the licensing of fights to regulated exhibitions in line with newly introduced Health and Safety guidelines (NFCA, 2020).

After the First World War rides rooted in modern mechanisation inundated the scene: Dodgems, Waltzers, and Ghost Trains became primary sources of amusement, designed to thrill, dizzy, and shock punters. Over time, this trade has evolved as a mechanical pleasureland. Today, between 25,000 and 30,000 Showmen continue to keep this traditional craft alive, using

innovative fairground technologies and novel materialities to generate tantalising mobilities, affects, and atmospheres across the British Isles each year.⁵

1.3. Travelling fairgrounds: landscapes of operation in Scotland's past and present

In Scotland more specifically, travelling fairgrounds have been a feature of the popular entertainment scene since the early 1300s. Jeremy, a fourth-generation Showman recounts:

‘We started as sideshow folk in markets – trading markets – and the audience was vast – fairgoers, market traders, lords, everyone; the Royal charter created a wide reach. And they were all enthralled, always entertained by the attractions on offer ... the shows were designed to be comedic, a type of theatre that they couldn't get anywhere else.’

(Interview excerpt. Jeremy. 01 March 2017)

Established in its origins, today the fair continues to amuse the masses and thrill the publics. Although fairs have changed, their purpose remains the same: ‘to provide fairgoers with a form of entertainment that is unpretentious, exciting, and uninhibited’ (Downie, 1998: 6). In Scotland, fairs have longstanding historical associations with common ridings and town celebrations. As such, traditions of travel emerged following a standard calendar of fairs: travelling between April-September and remaining stationary in wintering sites between October and March. Between the late-eighteenth and late twentieth centuries, Showpeople additionally travelled according to historically established routes, taking families to the same towns each year in itinerated fashion. Table 1.1 provides a comprehensive overview of these routes and their precise destinations; while figures 1.6 – 1.13 (inclusive) serve to communicate Showpeople's historic travelling patterns spatially.⁶

⁵ Number of Showpeople currently in operation is an estimation based on conversations with my participants; each have their own estimates.

⁶ Information consolidated from interviews; locations mentioned in individual interviews with Showpeople and enthusiasts have been included in the routes. These maps are a reflection of central and re-occurring named sites in particular regions in Scotland, with the acknowledgement that individual Show-families may not have travelled to all listed locations or may have indeed travelled to others not listed. Additionally, route titles have been devised from conversations with differing Showpeople and enthusiasts, and therefore reflect an amalgamation of voices. Here, I caveat again that these route names may vary between individual families. These same caveats apply to suggested timelines – as such, I have created a timeframe from the earliest to the latest year mentioned during interviews.

Table 1.1: Showpeople’s traditional travel routes, Scotland

Name of Route	Location Order	Colour
Borders Route	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dumfries 2. Lockerbie 3. Langholm 4. Ettrick 5. Hawick 6. Jedburgh 7. Kelso 8. Coldstream 9. Eyemouth 10. Lauder 11. Galashiels 12. Peebles 13. Biggar 14. Moffat 15. Thornhill 16. Dumfries (wintering location) 	White (Fig. 1.6)
Dumfries-Ayr Route	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dumfries 2. Dalbeattie 3. Kirkcudbright 4. Creetown 5. Glenluce 6. Stranraer 7. Ballantrae 8. Girvan 9. Maybole 10. Ayr 11. Cumnock 12. Sanquhar 13. Thornhill 14. Dumfries (wintering location) 	Yellow (Fig. 1.7)
Stirling-Aberdeen Route	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Stirling 2. Dunfermline 3. Kirkcaldy 4. Glenrothes 5. St. Andrews 6. Cupar 7. Perth 8. Dundee 9. Carnoustie 10. Arbroath 11. Inverbervie 12. Stonehaven 13. Aberdeen (wintering location) 	Red (Fig. 1.8)
Edinburgh-St. Andrews Route	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Edinburgh 2. Newbridge 3. Linlithgow 4. Polmont 5. Falkirk 6. Kinkardine 7. Cairneyhill 8. Crossgates 9. Auchtertool 10. East Wemyss 11. Leven 12. Lathones 13. St. Andrews (wintering location) * <p>*Alternative wintering locations for this route include Glasgow or Edinburgh.</p>	Blue (Fig. 1.9)
Glasgow West Route	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Glasgow 2. Paisley 3. Johnstone 4. Bridge of Weir 5. Kilmacollm 6. Port Glasgow 7. Greenock 8. Wemyss Bay 9. Largs 10. West Kilbride 11. Ardrossan 	Green (Fig. 1.10)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12. Irvine 13. Troon 14. Kilmarnock 15. Stewarton 16. Barrhead 17. Glasgow (wintering location) 	
Highlands Route	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Oban 2. Dalnally 3. Altnafaed 4. Glencoe 5. Fort William 6. Spean Bridge 7. Laggan 8. Kinloch Laggan 9. Newtonmore 10. Aviemore 11. Tomatin 12. Inverness (wintering location) 	Pink (Fig. 1.11)
Elgin Circuit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nairn 2. Findhorn 3. Elgin 4. Buckie 5. Banff 6. Fraserburgh 7. St. Fergus 8. Boddam 9. Mintlaw 10. Turriff 11. Forgue 12. Huntly 13. Keith 14. Aberlour 15. Elgin (wintering location) * <p>*Alternative wintering location includes Inverness.</p>	Purple (Fig. 1.12)
Glasgow City Route	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Glasgow 2. Cambuslang 3. Rutherglen 4. Govanhill 5. Giffnock 6. Darnley 7. Govan 8. Finnieston 9. Partick 10. Bishopbriggs 11. Stepps 12. Bargeddie 13. Bailleston (wintering location) * <p>*One of many wintering locations in Glasgow.</p>	<p>Turquoise (Fig. 1.13)</p> <p>Glasgow Green Easter Fair marks the official start of the Glasgow Fair season.</p> <p>Blue snowflake denotes the Kelvinhall Fair; Glasgow's traditional winter Fair.</p>

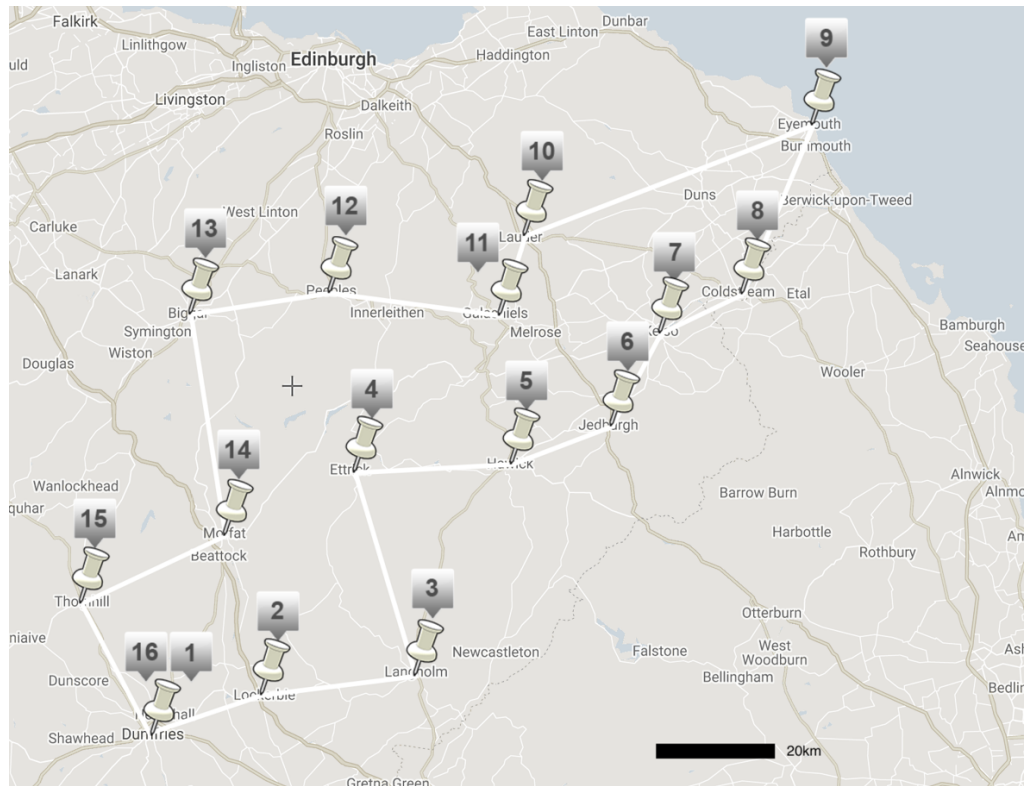


Fig. 1.6: Traditional Borders travel route, 1800-1970. Source: Author's Own.

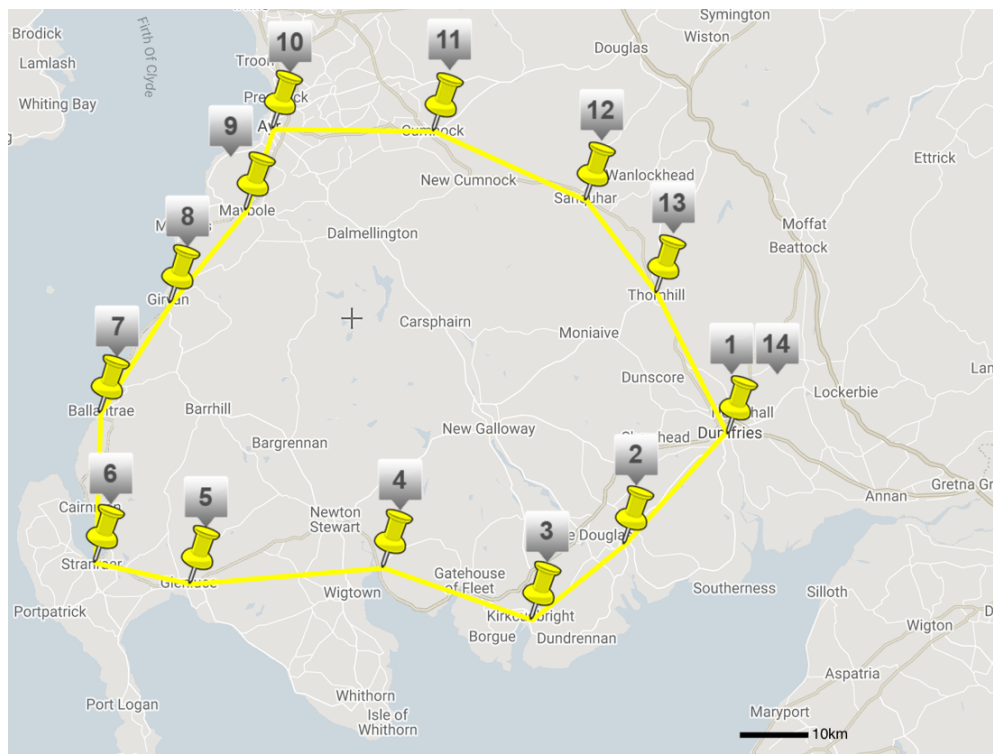


Fig. 1.7: Traditional Dumfries-Ayr travel route, 1800-1970. Source: Author's Own.

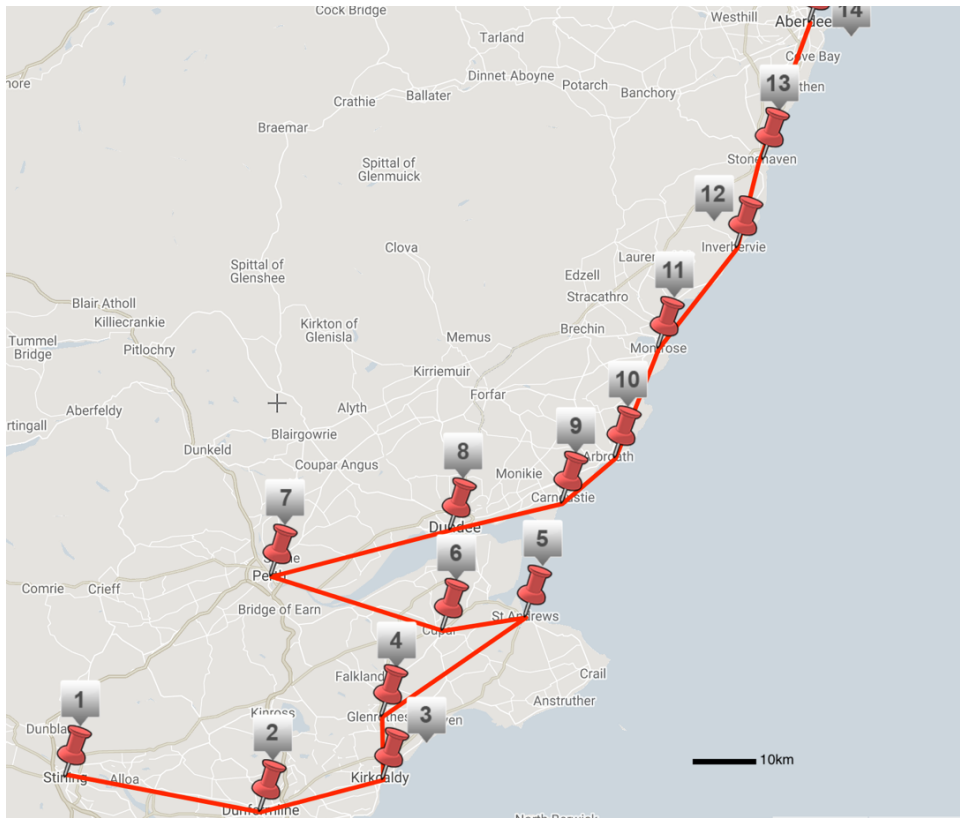


Fig. 1.8: Traditional Stirling-Aberdeen travel route, 1800-1947. Source: Author's Own.

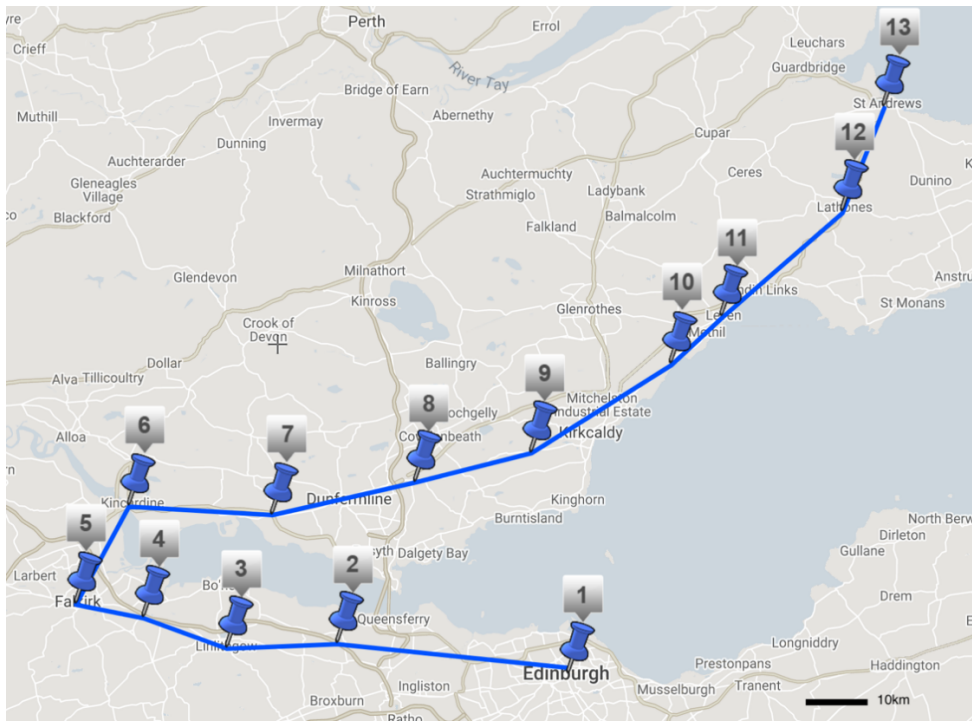


Fig. 1.9: Traditional Edinburgh-St. Andrews travel route, 1800-1970. Source: Author's Own.

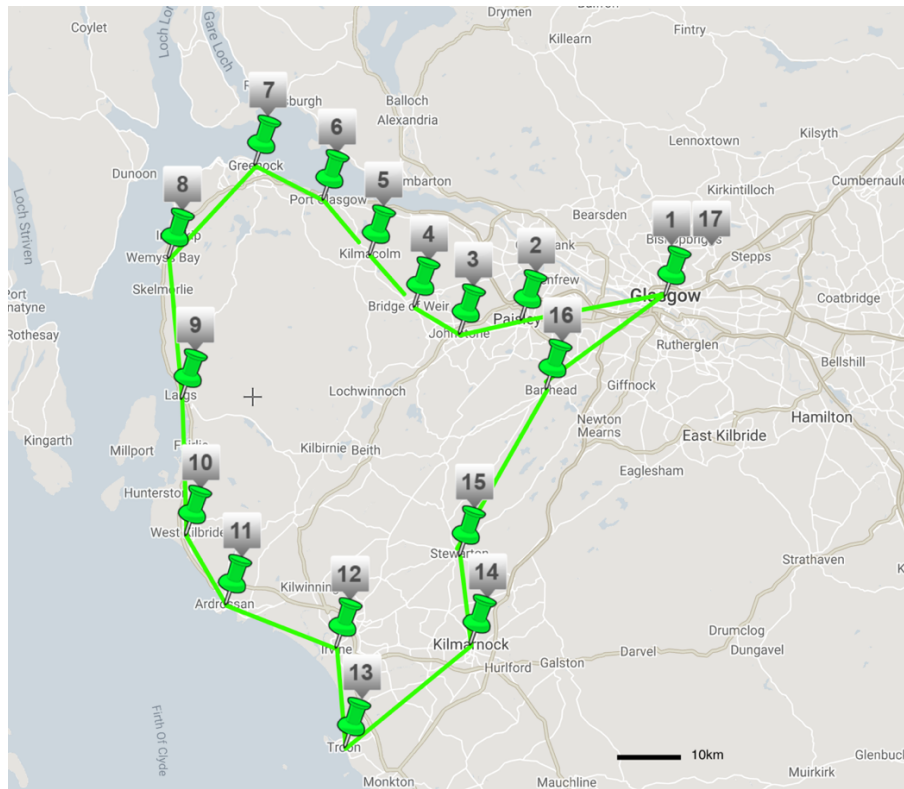


Fig. 1.10: Traditional Glasgow West travel route, 1800-1970. Source: Author's Own.

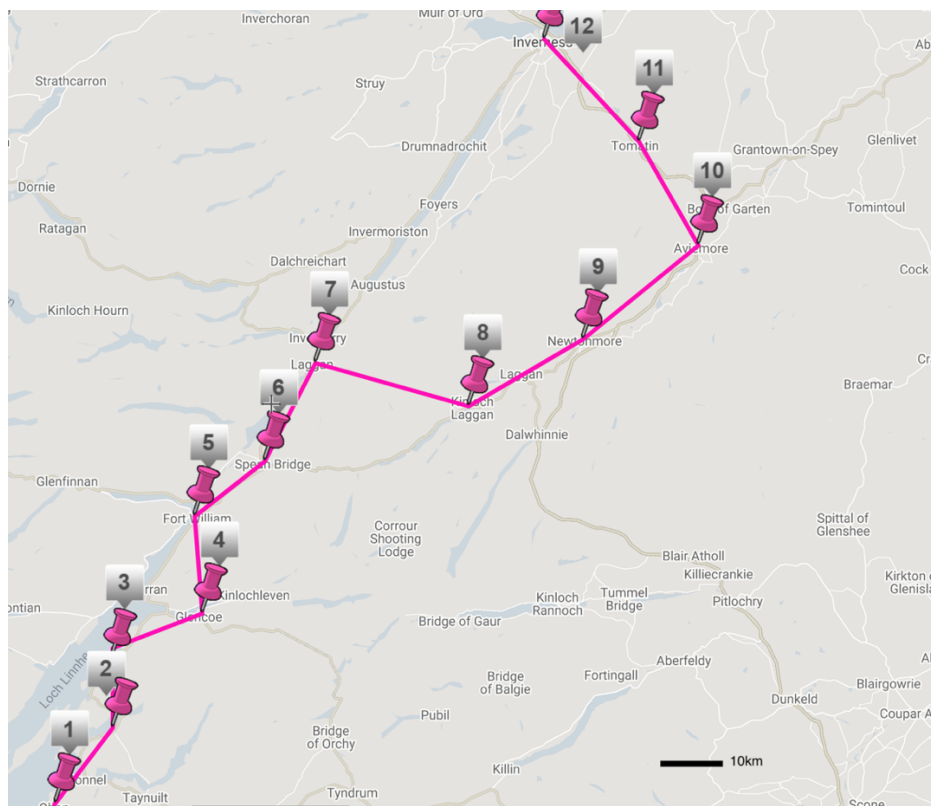


Fig. 1.11: Traditional Highlands travel route, 1800-1970. Source: Author's Own.

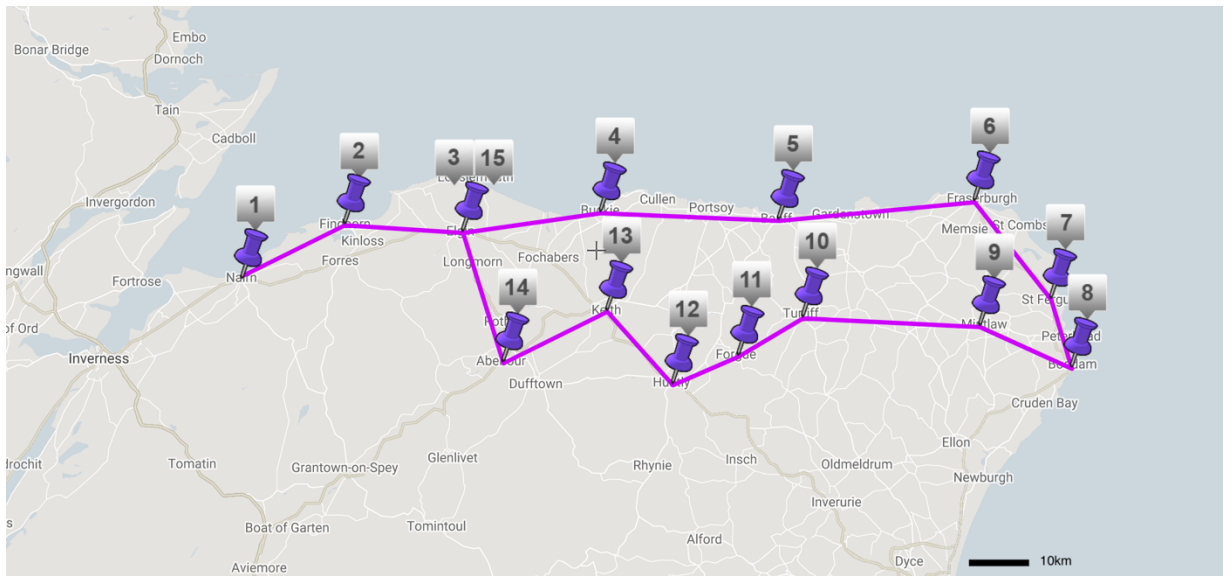


Fig. 1.12: Traditional Elgin Circuit travel route, 1800-1970. Source: Author's Own.

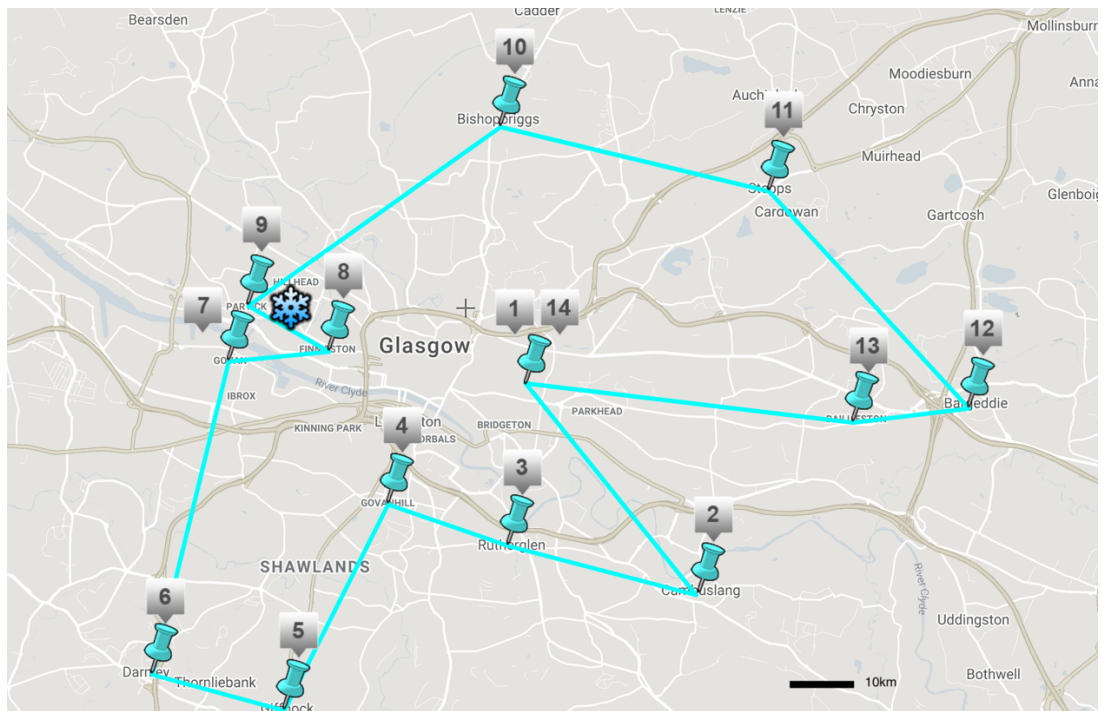


Fig. 1.13: Traditional Glasgow City travel route, 1800-1970. Source: Author's Own.

Although it remains the case that most Showpeople travel between April and September, a large element of show-families no longer adhere to these traditional routes with the same conviction; rather, current travel is dictated principally by demand, and in long-established fairs by plot rights (a concept further explored in *Chapter 4.1. Site: spaces of the fair*). Furthermore, present-day wintering and summer seasons are not as clearly defined as once they were. The

addition of Guy-Fawkes and Christmas celebrations, as well as year-round street festivals, have increased demand for travelling fairgrounds at various new showpiece events. This has resulted in an extension of the fair season, with many beginning their run in March and ending in December. In Scotland, the traditional, historically recognised fair season commences in mid-April at the Kirkcaldy Links Market; a fair that has been in operation since 1304 when Edward I bestowed its Royal charter (NFCA, 2020).

Modern fairs are organised and operated variously under the auspices of a lessee, either the Scottish Showmen's Guild (SGS), show-family corporations, Independent Showmen, or Local Authorities. The scope and size of the fair varies depending on judgements of historical prestige and established audiences. Principally, fair dates are dictated by historical charters upheld by the Scottish Showmen's Guild (Downie, 1998); however, as fairs today take place more frequently than they did in the past, typically 200 fairs take place weekly across the United Kingdom (Trowell, 2017b). This changing landscape has adversely led to increased competition between Showpeople and over-saturation across the country, posing significant challenges to the sustainability of the fair trade.

A further effect of modernisation is evidenced in changing living arrangements. Historically, Scotland's Showpeople lived in temporary wintering sites on council-funded land. Today, most reside in static caravans at privately-owned yards or council sites on a permanent basis. Most Showmen involved in the fair trade reside in Glasgow, with eighty percent of Showpeople split between sites in the city's East End and Southside.⁷ This concentrated geography stands in stark contrast to the early 1900s when Showpeople lived [and travelled] widely across Scotland. As the public's appetite for fairs has changed, these traditional travel itineraries and living arrangements have become an element of the past.

Nonetheless, for most Scottish Showpeople this work is their lifeworld. They are a close-knit, self-sufficient community who, having founded the tradition, know the tricks of the trade. They are versatile in their skill and resourceful in their range of abilities to keep the show 'on the road' in an effort to preserve their exceptional trade.

1.4. My own place in the life of the fair

My own place in the life of the fair has been conceived, shaped, and re-defined variously throughout this research process. The examination of cultural trends and historic fairground

⁷ Information gleaned from interviews with Showpeople. Though, I must also outline that Showpeople still reside across other large cities and towns in Scotland.

traditions, as well as new challenges and opportunities faced by Scotland's Showpeople, has allowed me to become a practicing researcher; both an observer of change, and a participant in creating it. Throughout my study I became innately involved in projects designed to challenge existing social classifications of Showpeople in Scotland; further details of which can be found in '*Chapter 8.1. Current climate and future projections*'. Working in this vein has permitted me a more open access to show-culture, something which in the past, especially as an outsider of this community, has been fairly inaccessible. My emergent understanding of the dilemmas and constraints facing Scotland's modern Showpeople, learned only working *with* this community, has positioned me as an academic proponent for their cultural and historic recognition. This carries substantial responsibility and is by no means an easy task; as such, with this thesis, I propose that continued discussions require inter-disciplinary engagements both within and outwith the academic world.

As a place to spend time, or to undertake research, the fairground is an enchanting attraction. There is, for most who visit, an air of mystery, offering only glimpses into secret worlds behind the stage curtain. Meanwhile, its engineering and mechanics can inspire awe, wonder, and not lastly fear. Socially, however, stigmas continue to hitch themselves to those who operate the fairs, and what are generally considered unstable mobile lifestyles. Historical prejudices against itinerant travellers continue to pose significant problems for Showpeople and fairs, putting barriers in the way of full acceptance into mainstream society. The secrecy afforded to the Showperson's persona, as well as seasonal mobility, has led to easy associations with the 'unwelcome' vagrancy attributed to Gypsy travellers. Consequently, Showpeople have often been represented in a negative light by the broadcast and print media. For example, Taggart's 2006 episode '*Law*' (STV) problematically presented Showpeople as predatory and untrustworthy outlaws of society who were entangled in the murder of a child. Sadly, this 'image' extends into views too commonly upheld in mainstream society, where Showpeople are glibly associated with petty vice and crime, emblematic in the oft-repeated warning to 'lock up your daughters and family silver, the Gypsies are in town'.⁸ Thus, I use my voice, to encourage further and extended engagement with this oft unseen community across academic platforms as a fundamental objective of this thesis.

Moreover, although fairgrounds and their traditional forms of entertainment represent an important feature in the social history and cultural geography of towns across Scotland,

⁸ Idiom compiled from reflections in interviews with Showpeople. This is not meant as a defamatory statement, but rather as an example of the cultural and racial profiling of Gypsy travellers, and often Showpeople.

Scotland's fair landscape is undergoing change. While councils and Local Authorities have begun to recognise the need for winter quarters and have exempted Showpeople from the 1960 Caravan Act, recent urban redevelopment schemes have resulted in the displacement of multiple Showpeople. The current construction of 'Water Row', in Govan, Glasgow, is one significant instance. As a forthcoming development of shops and houses along the Clyde, it has had the effect of displacing a community of Showpeople that has lived on the site since the early 1900s. Additionally, while historic fairs, such as Kirkcaldy Links Market, St. Andrews Lammas Fair, Glasgow Fair, and Dumfries Rood Fair are upheld under conservation laws, many fairground sites are being lost due to processes of gentrification and urban redevelopment. A pressing and critical question arises: is the once traditional fair trade slowly 'dying'?

These significant challenges have inspired recent efforts led by cultural heritage initiatives to increase positive awareness of the Showpeople community among the general public. Within the last ten years, Showpeople have also taken on more active roles, leading and supporting efforts to protect their heritage and culture. Though many have left the show trade for other forms of employment, or are now retired, most participants cited in this research project are actively involved in outreach, communication, and impact. Through this research, I myself have become a member of these initiatives, working collaboratively with Showpeople to 'reach out' and effect change, strategies discussed in more detail in '*Chapter 8.1. Current climate and future projections*'. The question that follows then, is whether these efforts will be enough to sustain wonder, curiosity, and interest.

While there has been intermittent interest for Showpeople in academic studies, and a spike of recent research activity documenting their lives (see: Braithwaite, 1968; Toulmin, 1994, 2001; Walker, 2018; and Trowell, 2017a, 2017b, 2019), as well as on Britain's travelling communities more generally (see: Sibley, 1995; Cresswell, 1996a, 1999; Holloway, 2003; and Shubin, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2012), to date, this work has largely lacked a Scottish focus.⁹ Consequently, my own role conceived through this research project has been an endeavour to produce a material and cultural account of travelling fairs, as another means to challenge misconceptions, and represent Scotland's travelling fairgrounds more progressively. Within the thesis to follow, I place myself at the heart of the travelling fairs' various geographies, engaging in an embodied and sensory fashion with the fairground atmosphere, always in an effort to

⁹ As a caveat, Shubin's work is rooted in understanding and analysing the mobilities of Eastern European migrants and travellers in Scotland and was mentioned above only to support and exemplify the statement regarding broader interests and engagements with Britain's travelling communities.

understand the importance that the travelling fair has brought, and continues to bring, to Scottish life.

1.5. Putting stories to work

To generate a compelling geographical account of Scotland's travelling fairs, my project focuses on the material and cultural production of the fair experience. As spaces of remarkable atmosphere and vernacular creativity, I suggest that Scotland's travelling fairgrounds encapsulate Danesi's (2018) popular culture, as a culture designed to challenge morality while offering mass entertainment. As explored throughout my thesis, travelling fairs are continuously uniting properties of uninhibited interaction with eccentric behaviour, and carnivalistic disparity with realities of everyday space, influencing and creating popular cultural trends in the same sensory atmosphere. Consequently, it can be construed that travelling fairs are popular culture by design, *and* in their very nature, reflecting elements of society; an idea further explored throughout empirical Chapters 4-7. As a parallel, I also explore how this postulation of popular culture positions travelling fairs as sites that are marginalised. Travelling fairs transgress boundaries daily, crossing between public and private space, inspiring their audience to do the same. As a result, Showpeople are habitually othered due to their unstable mobility, and frequently placed on peripheral wastelands for challenging socially determined boundaries (Hetherington, 1997). These effects are experienced variously across travelling fairs in Scotland; therefore, I call on Rodaway's (1994) sensuous geographies to understand how our haptic, olfactory, auditory, and visual senses shape the body's ability to experience the fairground's atmosphere and environment as enchanting.

More specifically, I pursue a set of research aims about the construction of Scotland's travelling fairgrounds as manifestations of atmospheric effect:

1. To observe the material and cultural production of fairgrounds in Scotland by addressing questions of design, mobility, decoration, and representation. Drawing on empirical evidence and first-hand ethnographic encounters with fairground material and culture, I explore how elements of cultural taste, sight, sound, and voice come together within the fairground space to generate mechanical and sensory sites of wonder, amusement, and frivolity.
2. To engage with the production of fairs as atmospheres of affect and nostalgia; drawing on interview excerpts and oral histories, I examine how the travelling fairground constructs atmosphere, and in turn creates affect and nostalgia. Here, I reference salient

literature relating to enthusiasm and enchantment to understand what underlies the production of these affective forces. By positioning the body as a conduit for memory I consider how fairgoers, Showpeople, and enthusiasts, symbolise, associate, and re-assign meaning to the fair space through sight, taste, touch, and sound.

3. To pre-theorise fairs as ‘pop-up’ spaces of contemporary popular culture through the conception of travelling fairgrounds, rooting my work in the senses so as to investigate the role popular cultural conventions play in generating fairground atmospheres.
4. To critically consider the social constraints placed on travellers in contemporary Scotland. By working with Showpeople, enthusiasts, and fairgoers, I seek to challenge misconceptions about Showpeople, and build a more progressive account of this culture and its contemporary geographies.

These aims are framed by explorations and re-telling of corporeal sensations, manifest as taste, vision, mobility, and sound. As a reader’s introductory route-map through the thesis’ contents, I offer the following overview of chapter structure, and summary of matters. It is sequenced as follows:

‘*Chapter 2. Theoretical Foundations: geographies of the fair*’ is a review of literatures serving to introduce and critically consider the central themes and theories shaping the thesis, informing my findings, and resurfacing in later chapters. ‘*2.1. Scotland’s travelling groups and their geographies*’ offers a review of literature on Gypsy travellers, Highland travellers, New Age travellers, and Showpeople, that addresses the differing facets of this particular culture. The chapter also reflects on the relative paucity of academic literature that engages fully with Showpeople as a community. ‘*2.1.5. Geographers and their Geographies*’ considers work by geographers on different mobilities of travelling groups, and its formative placement in a literature of cultural geography. Finally, ‘*2.1.6. Traveller geographies in this thesis*’ presents a concluding overview of the wider applications of the reading, signposting how these discussions are taken forward throughout the thesis.

‘*2.2. Materiality, mobility, and modernity: geographies of the fairground and beyond*’ offers a literature review which contextualises the empirical chapters on vision, taste, mobility and sound. In this section, I analyse writings which pay particular attention to material heritage; the materialities of light; and, the relationships between materiality and the fairground. As part of the discussion, I review literature on the geographies of mobility as a way to understand the movement and mobility of travelling Showpeople. Latterly, I engage with geographies of modernism, considering visual experiences of modernity and the emergence of the modern

fairground as a means to reflect on modernity in practice, most obviously framing elements of chapters on vision, mobility, taste, and sound.

In ‘2.3. *Nostalgia, enthusiasm, enchantment, affect, and atmosphere: fairground geographies*’ I offer an analytical interpretation of reflective, restorative, and critical nostalgia, and the role of each in the generation of atmosphere and affect. I also engage with recent theorisations of enthusiasm, drawing links to the specialist (even niche) concerns of fairground enthusiasts. While also defining popular culture at the fair, I introduce theories of taste, and analyse geographies of enchantment associated with the spaces of the fair as ways to contextualise empirical chapters on taste and mobility. In addressing theories of affect and emotion and engaging with literatures on memory in relation to fair-going experience, I contextualise the distinctive features of fairgrounds in later chapters on vision and sound. Penultimately ‘*Atmosphere*’ details the salience of atmospheres in the context of the study, drawing on recent ideas investigated within cultural geography; serving to synthesise prominent geographies of the fairground, and which are addressed across the empirical chapters.

‘*Chapter 3. Non-representational fairground fieldwork: sources, sites, and methods of the fair*’ offers a discussion of my methodological design and theoretical reasoning in support of it. ‘3.1. *Sources: the ‘who’s-who’ of the travelling fair*’ offers an overview the differing groups I worked with during my fieldwork, including Showpeople, enthusiasts, and fair-going publics. I outline how each group is constituted, what they can be said to represent, and how they have contributed to the research project. ‘3.2. *Sites: places of methodological engagement*’ describes the fieldwork locations I worked in, including fairground summer sites and wintering storage spots. I also outline the logistics of each location, explaining what kinds of fieldwork could be carried out in each. ‘3.3. *Methods for a more-than-human space*’ considers the appeals and challenges of ‘make-do’ methods as a research approach, variously addressing research inquiries as they relate to ‘3.3.1. *Paperwork, recruitment, and false starts*’, ‘3.3.2. *Practicing ethnography: reflective participant observation*’, ‘3.3.3. *Exploring the archive: situating the past in the present*’, ‘3.3.4. *Working with materials: objects and artefacts*’, and ‘3.3.5. *Interviews: exploring contemporary oral histories*’. In ‘3.4. *Encountering self in place: reflections on positionality*’ I critically reflect on my role in the research process, offering views on positionality, power, and pressure in such embodied research. ‘3.5. *Data analysis: visual methodologies*’ highlights the process of data analysis at work in the thesis, placed within a wider visual approach. Conclusively, ‘3.6. *Bringing together sources, sites, and methods for a*

fairground space’ draws together these different methodological concerns with concluding thoughts and reflections.

‘*Chapter 4. Site and Sight: spaces and illusions of the fair*’ combines discussions of sight and visual experience at the fair, refracted through the lens of literatures on the politics, technicalities, and rules of site. I argue that the organisation of site shapes the way we encounter the fairground; so much so, that its layout is an inherently important aspect of fair planning and organisation. Site maps are used to demonstrate the detailed approach taken to fair set-up, while arguing that the sites and visions we encounter influence how we experience space. ‘*4.1. Site: spaces of the fair*’ attempts a localised definition of site in a fairground context. In ‘*4.1.1. Constructions*’ I analyse the sometimes-contentious politics, technicalities, and rules of site planning, and observe how ride and stall placements are matters that shape fairground atmosphere. In ‘*4.1.2. Site-lines*’ I compare different fair locations to understand how travelling fairs are socially encountered and provide an account of the demounting of sites and the changing properties of the fair. ‘*4.2. Sight: illusions and visions of the fairground*’ discusses the different types of visual experience that are produced at the fair, while in ‘*4.2.1. Artistic vision*’ I take a ride on the waltzer as an exemplary case study using shot-by-shot analysis to consider how different types of lighting influence fair-goers’ experiences and change the nature of encounter with each ride. Here, I also compare geographies of light and dark, drawing on Edensor (2015a, 2017) to provide an account of the capacities of the travelling fair in creating atmosphere. In ‘*4.2.2. Visions of art*’ I consider the changing forms of artistry at the fair, arguing that each is a representation of new forms of popular culture, making reference to appropriate literature throughout; while in ‘*4.2.3. Sightlines*’ I reflect on the role of perspective to figure that every individual, experiences the fairground space differently. ‘*4.3. Geographies of site and sight*’ concludes this extended consideration of the connected roles of site and sight in the fair.

‘*Chapter 5. Taste and Taste: cultures and flavours of the fair*’ considers the relationship between cultural taste and haptic taste in the travelling fairground. I implement a combination of personal experience, photographs, and snapshot interviews to generate a narrative of changing taste. To begin, I offer an overview of the chapter’s key conceptual themes: cultural and haptic taste. In ‘*5.1. Taste: popular culture, class, and society*’ I define how cultural taste is to be configured, as well as considering relevant theories around class and society which can frame the dynamic fairground landscape. I discuss how popular cultural trends have influenced the fairground over time, and how this is exhibited in the materiality and taste of the fair, thinking through significant changes in forms of entertainment. In ‘*5.1.1. Enthusiasts: a tale of*

specialist taste' I discuss the role enthusiasts have played in generating and rejuvenating the fairground scene, drawing on theories of enthusiasm by Geoghegan (2013), while in '5.1.2. *Fair-going publics: taste and popular culture*' I analyse the role of nostalgia in shaping fairgoers experiences, before, during, and after the fair. '5.1.3. *Showpeople: constructions of culture at the fair*' draws on theorisations of enchantment to consider how Showpeople create spaces for differing publics. Fundamentally, this chapter contemplates how popular culture and taste have developed over time and how this has affected what the fair is today. '5.2. *Haptic taste: sensory perceptions, recollections, and understandings*' considers the cornucopia of haptic taste we encounter at the fair, utilising the Kirkcaldy Links Market as a case study. As my taste-temptations, I consider '5.2.1. *The toffee apple*', '5.2.2. *Popcorn*', and '5.2.3. *Candy Floss*', calling on interview excerpts, ethnographic fieldnotes, and photographs to appreciate their appeals. '5.3. *A matter of taste*' returns to theories around taste, to generate the argument that that haptic taste changes the ways we encounter the fairground scene; and, closes the chapter by reconsidering the coupling of cultural taste and haptic taste at the fair.

'Chapter 6. *Mobilities of, and in, the fairground space*' examines mobilities of the fairground space, drawing on personal experience, interview excerpts, and photographs to generate a narrative that highlights and exposes diverse mobilities in operation. '6.1. *Mobility: a life of travel*' focuses on the mobile lifestyle that enables the existence and transportation of travelling fairgrounds. I consider how a dedicated and carefully observed show-calendar based on family histories, delineated travel routes around Scotland and what this historically meant for Showpeople. I correspondingly discuss the changes to these fair itineraries, highlighting how modernisation, and the emergence of new popular cultural trends have reshaped fairground mobilities. Finally, this subsection considers the tensions operating between tradition and modernity occurring over time.

'6.2. *Continuous static mobility*' introduces Terranova-Webb's (2010) concept of static mobility to consider aspects of the travelling fairground's movement. I argue that historically dictated travel patterns and repeated visits to the same places introduce a static dimension to the fair's mobility. In '6.3. *Intensities of mobility: transformations of place and space*' I devise a creative narrative to showcase the power travelling fairs have to alter the atmosphere of the places they temporarily occupy, by discussing how fairs turn sedentary places into mobile spaces for fleeting, accelerated moments. Specifically, I draw on the St. Andrews Lammas fair as a case study, making reference to theories of reflective, restorative, and critical nostalgia, affect, and atmosphere to argue that the travelling fairground is an *ad-hoc* 'pop-up' space that

temporarily transposes the places it situates itself in through its mobility. ‘6.4. *Mobility in the fairground space: mechanics of motion*’ explores the different types of mobility created by amusement rides at the fair. Here, I focus on a range of rides and their types of movement, considering their respective materialities, as well as the mechanical operations serving to create these movements. ‘6.5. *Geographies of mobility of, and in, the fairground space*’ concludes this chapter, highlighting how mobilities of, and in, the fair come together to create a sensory atmosphere and arguing that its static mobility has generated tradition, thereby adding to the value and creation of the fairground atmosphere throughout time.

‘Chapter 7. *Sound and Voice: sensory perceptions and vocal recollections of the fair*’ considers the sound-worlds of the fair, through the recalled memories and voices of Showpeople, fair-going publics, and fairground enthusiasts. It argues that the sounds we encounter at the fair influence and shape our experiences, and in turn, mould our memories of this space. ‘7.1. *Sound: sensory manifestations of the travelling fairground*’ discusses the different types of sound that are produced at the fairground. In ‘7.1.1. *The fairground soundscape*’ I draw a comparison between types of mechanical and ‘natural’ sound generated, discussing how each has its own cumulative effect on fair-going publics. Here, I utilise the Dumfries Rood Fair as a case study, comparing the soundscape of the fair to its immediate surroundings. In ‘7.1.2. *The Ghost Train*’, I travel on an old favourite of the fairground, as an exemplary case, to consider how levels of volume, types of sound, and choice of musical soundtrack are combined to impact on sensory experience. Meanwhile, ‘7.1.3. *Body: the voice as sound*’ considers the importance of the human voice in generating atmosphere: ‘7.1.3.1. *Blagging*’ explores an oral fairground tradition, demonstrating how the Showman’s spiel is integral to generating experience and atmosphere, adding a distinctive element to the fairground soundscape. In ‘7.1.3.2. *The scream*’ I explore the relationship between fear and sound, drawing on Dixon’s (2011) theories of oral and aural expression, to consider the creation of affective atmospheres. In ‘7.1.4. *Fairground architecture of sound*’ I reflect on my own ethnographic experience to advance an argument that the fairground has its own sonic architecture, and that the way it is artistically constructed changes the way we experience and encounter the fairground space.

‘7.2. *Voice: memories and embodied nostalgia of the fairground space*’ considers the different voices of the fair, and what it is that they have to say. ‘7.2.1. *Showpeople: voices of the past, present, and future*’ creates a narrative around the role of the Showperson, as well as their changing views. ‘7.2.2. *Fair-going publics: voices of memory, nostalgia and emotion*’

gives voice to the popular public experience of the fairground scene. '7.2.3. *Enthusiasts: voices of knowledge, enthusiasm, and conservation*' considers those individuals who share knowledge and expertise about the cultural heritage of fairgrounds, and how they help shape the fair experience. '7.3. *Geographies of sound and voice*' concludes the chapter, marrying sound and voice to argue that in relation they are symbiotic, co-dependent, and inherently intertwined in the fairground scene.

Ultimately, 'Chapter 8. *The end of the show*' concludes the thesis. Here, I re-define the travelling fairground, offering a personal interpretation and rendering of the fair, and provide an overview of the fair's cultural progression over time, reflecting on how change has impacted the way Showpeople, fair-goers, and enthusiasts interact with and create the fairground space. '8.1. *Current climate and future projections*' uses reflections of the fair's past and present to project forward into its possible futures. More specifically, I argue that changing social attitudes have led to a decline in the fairground's popularity, and consequently, a loss of its nostalgic appeal. Here, I further consider nostalgia and affect as the basis on which the fairground has thrived, acknowledging that changing landscapes of popular consumption pose a significant ongoing threat to the fair's future. The chapter draws to a close with '8.2. *Impact and knowledge-making*' where I outline the impact I believe this work offers, incorporating discussion of the ongoing need for recognition of Showpeople and awareness of their work, as well as reflections on the potential of this line of research inquiries to be utilised in current and future projects within, and beyond, the academic community.

Chapter 2. Theoretical foundations: geographies of the fair

This review positions a study of Scotland's travelling fairgrounds in reference to geographical writing on travelling communities, as well as thematics relating to materiality, mobility, affect, and atmosphere. The review is divided into three sections: '2.1. *Scotland's travelling groups and their geographies*' places the thesis with reference to scholarship on traveller mobility, enabling me to highlight the original contributions this thesis makes to the published works on geographies of Showpeople; '2.2. *Materiality, mobility, and modernity: geographies of the fairground and beyond*' relating the thesis to salient writings on materiality, mobility, and modernity, using fair-related case studies to discuss the principal geographic thematics in this work; and, '2.3. *Nostalgia, enthusiasm, enchantment, affect, and atmosphere: fairground geographies*' reviewing the relevant scholarship on these geographies in relation to the fair, constructing them as repeatedly experienced and disseminated forces. This tri-partite structure serves to introduce key themes that frame my empirical materials in Chapters 4-7 in relation to vision, sound, taste, and mobility. Ultimately, this review has been designed to advance the key theoretical and conceptual themes in the chapters that follow and provide a framing for the central geographies that are examined throughout the thesis as a whole.

2.1. Scotland's travelling groups and their geographies

The term 'travellers' is predominantly used to classify migratory groups whose lifestyles differ from the 'social norm' of mainstream society – a cultural phenomenon that prescribes social rules and moral behaviour (Geertz, 1973). Often, but not always, it is used disparagingly: 'the term travellers can be pejorative depending on who you are speaking with and in what situation' (Clark and Greenfields, 2006: 13). Some travellers are portrayed in an unequivocally negative fashion, due to their association with mobility and delinquency. However, the real meaning of the classification 'travellers' represents indigenous European communities 'whose culture is characterised by self-employment, and migration' (Clark and Greenfields, 2006: 13). Even so, it is important to recognise that although travellers are unified by their collective belief in nomadism, cultural traditions and lifestyles vary between them: 'the physical fact of moving is just one aspect of the nomadic mind-set that permeates every aspect of our lives (McDonagh, 1993, in: Clark and Greenfields, 2006: 58). In Scotland, travellers are exceptionally diverse in their values and cultures; travelling communities are identified by fundamentally differing principles, routines, and histories that distinguish them from mainstream society, *and*, one another (Shubin, 2012). Cultural diversity and discrimination have been afforded much

academic and literary attention, wherein theoretical writing has attempted to rewrite pre-conceptions of travellers and travelling cultures (see: Halfacree, 1996; MacLaughlin, 1998, 1999; Sibley, 1995; Shubin, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2012; Bondi, *et.al*, 2016; and, Townsend, *et.al*, 2018). Principally, scholars have endeavoured to revise ‘nostalgic’ and ‘exotic’ notions of traveller identity in favour of a more credible portrayal of mobile lifestyles, both understandable *and* relatable. Geographical (and anthropological) attempts to confront the racialisation of traveller minorities have resulted in concurrent concepts across varying mediums of literature and covering: identity; outsider and otherness; tradition; and, community. Ongoing deliberations about the meaning and relevance of these matters, within and out-with travelling communities, remain a central focus of analysis. Accordingly, this subsection engages with contemporary writings on the following travelling groups and their geographies: Gypsy travellers, New Age travellers, Highland travellers, and Showpeople; the latter being most relevant to this piece of work. In reviewing such travelling societies, I consider the thematics listed above. In ‘2.1.5. *Geographers and their geographies*’ I draw on the work of Sibley (1983; 1995), Holloway (2003), Cresswell (1996a; 1999; 2002a; 2002b), Thacker (2003), and Shubin (2011a; 2011b; 2012), to analyse how embodied cultural and social boundaries are produced to generate difference. To end, I present a summative conclusion that evaluates the relationship between the geographies of travelling cultures and wider academic theory. This review chapter analyses works from human geography, traveller and mobility scholarship, as well as wider theoretical works in the social sciences to contextualise the thesis and its empirical chapters, being called upon in further detail in ‘*Chapter 6. Mobilities of, and in, the fairground space*’ to explore the fairs’ complex mobilities.

2.1.1. Gypsy Travellers

Gypsy travellers, also known as Roma or Romani, have travelled Scotland since the 1500s (Bhopal, *et.al*, 2008). Though they can trace their roots back to Northern India, today they are officially considered an ethnic minority within the UK, according to the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000) as: ‘they have distinct ethnic characteristics and should therefore be regarded as a distinct ethnic group’ (Scottish Parliament, 2001: 7). It is important to acknowledge, however, that Gypsy travellers have multiple sub-cultures, each with distinguishing cultural practices; although not a central feature of this chapter, it is essential to consider that these differences shape their identity. A long and shared history, familial heritage, and traditional cultural beliefs, separate Gypsy travellers from mainstream society *and* other

travelling groups. It can be argued that these factors create a ‘social identity that encompasses participant roles, positions, relationships, reputations, and other dimensions of social personae, which are conventionally linked to epistemic and affective stances’ (Ochs, 1996: 424). Language, tradition, and practiced rites are exemplary aspects of this identity.

While roots of Romani trace back to Hindi origin, distinct Gypsy traveller groups have established their own dialects through geographically determined social interactions and movements (Matras, 2010). Present-day, Romani is spoken in most households and remains a valued aspect of the culture; though, many travellers have also embraced bilingualism [in Romani and English] to adapt to modern constraints imposed both by work *and* mainstream society.

In line with language preservation, ritual is a principal feature of their cultural identity: although not rigorously enacted by present generations, Mochadi/Mahrime [ritually unclean] practice is a culturally influenced custom that structures behaviour in relation to cleanliness of the mind, body, and home (Okley, 1983). In respecting the nature-society dichotomy, a social division between nature and society based on the understanding that society is man-made while nature is biological, Gypsy travellers followed certain rituals and customs (Heras-Escribano and De Pinedo-Garcia, 2018):

‘The primary distinction is between washing objects for the inner body and washing objects for the outer body. Food eating utensils and the tea towels for drying them must never be washed in a bowl used for washing the hands, the rest of the body or clothing.’

(Okley, 1983: 81)

This tradition is revered amongst some Gypsy travellers, for whom beliefs about purity are highly respected and ‘an unclean act ... is a loss of purity’ (Okley, 1983: 209). Within traditional communities, these practices inform societal order and those deemed impure are ‘outsidered’. However, this tradition also distances Gypsy travellers from mainstream society; here, a link can be drawn to Sibley (1983) who similarly explores philosophies of the excluded outsider in society, and wider societal beliefs that are imposed to create a paradigm of the ‘accepted’ individual (a concept further explored in ‘*Geographers and their geographies*’). Beyond that, social exclusion is prevalent toward travelling communities more generally; Showpeople, are often treated with similar regard, and painted as deviant outsiders for their mobility (considered in more depth in ‘2.1.4. *Showpeople*’).

Alongside ritual tradition, Gypsy travellers place value on traditional gender divisions: men as breadwinners, women as homemakers. Young men are encouraged to pursue an occupation, while young women commonly focus their attentions on domestic practices (Bhopal, *et.al*, 2008). This distinction between home and society is often [incorrectly] constructed as a feature of all travelling groups, however, varies dramatically between cultures. Within Gypsy traveller society, this division is welcomed by those who adhere to this as an important distinction from other groups.

While most ‘modern’ Gypsy travellers live a sedentary life, some continue to travel year-round, and others congregate with the wider community *only* in communal celebratory gatherings (Shubin, 2011a). Those who remain nomadic travel in association with seasonal employment, residing on council-funded land (Clark and Greenfields, 2006); here, a distinct association can be identified between Gypsy travellers and Showpeople, the latter of whom also travel seasonally for work. However, industrialisation and modernity pose a continuous threat to Gypsy travellers, whose historically traditional crafts [of metalwork] have been outsourced to factories (Holloway, 2003); a plight similar to the loss of traditional fair culture across Scotland (analysed in more depth throughout my empirical Chapters 4-7).

As most Gypsy travellers identify themselves through their cultural practices and beliefs, they are commonly subject to discrimination [and figurative ‘othering’ or ‘outsidering’] by mainstream society. Lorists: scholars who ‘elaborate on the Gypsies exotic potential’ (Matras, 2005: 1), and Traditionalists: theorists who perceive Gypsy travellers as removed from society, have long constructed Gypsy travellers as ‘outsiders’ within academic theory. This approach associates Gypsy travellers with nature, as ‘wild and free’: ‘Gypsies symbolise the virtues of a simple ... life in harmony with nature rather than shaped by the needs of industrialisation [and] urbanisation’ (Behlmer, 1985, in: Holloway, 2003: 702). However, modernity and resulting increased mobility have permitted Gypsy travellers to move between both socially constructed and literal boundaries of city limits, and thus between nature and society. These movements in turn, have challenged preconceived academic constructions; ideas further explored in ‘2.1.5. *Geographers and their geographies*’ (see also: Mayall, 2004; Epstein Nord, 2008; Houghton-Walker, 2014).

Engaging with the customs and traditions of Gypsy travellers introduces ideas of outsidership and boundaries, both literally and figuratively, and how these combine to create particular social and cultural placings of travellers at particular times. As this is a prevalent challenge for Showpeople, understanding salient configurations of Gypsy traveller identity, and

more broadly the social construction of the outsider in society, provides context for the themes further explored in ‘2.1.5. *Geographers and their geographies*’, ‘5.1. *Taste: popular culture, class, and society*’, and ‘6.1. *Mobility: a life of travel*’.

2.1.2. Highland Travellers

Highland travellers, colloquially known as ‘Summer Walkers’ are a distinctive nomadic group of Northwest Highlanders who travel the Scottish Highlands in familial clusters. Their origins date back to the twelfth century, but since the 1950s most of these travellers have settled into mainstream society; at the start of the last millennium only 2000 individuals identified as full-time travellers (McKinney, 2003). While Summer Walkers are not officially recognised as an ethnic minority according to the Race Relations Amendment Act UK (2000), they do view themselves as a distinct travelling community. This identity is primarily formed by their values and cultures, including nomadism and oral history.

Traditionally, their migratory habits were influenced by cultural and working traditions passed down through an oral culture (Neat, 1996); rhyme, poetry, and tale have played a vital role in preserving their Gaelic heritage. Thus, an important part of their collective community identity is influenced by their Gallic ancestry. Memories of the past are kept alive through a tradition of ‘living’ culture shared between generations: ‘oral exchanges have the memorable permanence of initiation ceremonies. They are as affirming, as glorious, as life-permeating as first love, first-killings, last-rites and forgiveness’ (Neat, 1996: 191):

‘Ding-dong the Catholic bells
Fare you well my mother
Bury me in the old churchyard
Beside my oldest brother

My coffin shall be black
Four little angels at my backside
Two to preach and two to pray
And two to carry my soul away.’

(Maria, in: Neat, 1996: 193)

This song, a lullaby created to commemorate the death of an infant son. Today, this tradition not only preserves their Gaelic legacy, but also shapes the way the community present themselves to wider society (McKinney, 2003).

While year-round travel often made it difficult for Summer Walkers to build ties to mainstream society, established trading routes also generated inclusion and social acceptance: ‘whenever I went, I would be welcomed ... I’d go up and he’d greet me.’ (Stewart, in: Neat, 1996: 134). These repeated travelling patterns permitted them to establish working relationships along recurrent trade routes; also, a central element of Scotland’s show-culture.

For the Summer Walkers occupation is an integral part of their identity; associating with certain jobs such as pearl fishing, they pride themselves on the work they undertake: ‘pearl fishing’s a thing gets in the blood... Why should I not boast! Eddie Davies, the pearl-fisher’ (Eddie, in: Neat, 1996: 107-108). This emphasis on the value of work can also be seen amongst Showpeople who value their profession as a distinguishing feature of their collective *and* individual identity.

Shared traditions, ideals, and history unite Highland travellers as a community, distinguished from other travelling groups through their oral culture. Although they no longer travel to the same degree, Summer Walkers remain an integral part of the Scottish Highlands’ history. Particularly, Neat’s (1996) and McKinney’s (2003) writings emphasise an identity based on ancestral and cultural traditions, allowing Highland travellers to preserve memories from the past. Predominantly, these works introduce lessons for understanding the oral cultures of Showpeople and the importance of material heritage and mobility geographies through which they are understood, welcomed, and/or rejected; themes further explored across empirical Chapters 4-7.

2.1.3. New Age Travellers

New Age travellers, meanwhile, are an itinerant community that travel nationwide between different festivals and gatherings (Martin, 1998). Originally, New Age travellers appeared as part of the 1960s ‘Hippie’ movement that saw people uniting to protest militarism and war; since the early 2010s, however, many New Age travellers are third generation or later (Fox, 2018). While this community does not receive the protection of the Race Relations Amendment Act UK (2000), they are considered travellers due to their requirements for temporary accommodation. A primary distinguishing feature, both from mainstream society and other travelling groups, is that travel is a choice rather than a way of life. This has led to vast diversity amongst individuals and families, often represented by their lifestyles. Many lead an entirely self-sufficient lifestyle, favouring sedentary, nine-to-five careers to provide for their families (Fox, 2018). This is unlike other travelling communities who pursue more traditional means of

seasonal employment. Other New Age travellers, however, see the benefits in living sustainably outside of mainstream society and remain seasonally mobile (Hetherington, 2000).

They collectively self-identify as a ‘bund’: a community that values all members equally (Hetherington, 2000). However, for New Age travellers, identity is individual: different needs between generations has created a literal and figurative distance. As such, although they are united by title, New Age travellers do not display traditional values of a community. As many New Age travellers live according to their own rules and beliefs, they cannot be defined as a community. Instead, we might use Martin’s (1998) New Social Movement Theory as an attempt to cast the new movements (like New Age Travellers) that have arisen in Western societies since the mid-1960s as significantly different from social norms (see also: Gusfield, 2009). The rise of the post-industrial economy resulted in the creation of different groups that focused on issues related to human rights. New Age Travellers erupted from this movement, with a focus on promoting peace and harmony between individuals. Their immaterial ways making them a New Social Movement in contemporary and post-industrial society.

Often, New Age travellers are identified as outsiders due to their different beliefs. Their link to the Hippie movement in particular, figures them as ‘others’: ‘Travellers were seen as trouble: dirty, unkempt, strangely dressed young people who shunned the work ethic, embraced the drug culture and had taken to living on the road as nomads’ (Hetherington, 2000: 1). Their ways of life distance them from urban societies, and often confine them to rural settings; an experience shared by most nomadic groups. That being said, New Age travellers are much more likely to be accepted as part of wider society than other traveller groups, because they reflect values and customs similar to those of mainstream society, particularly those who have adopted a sedentary lifestyle.

Engaging with the cultural and fundamental elements of New Age travellers, particularly in relation to Martin’s (1998) New Social Movement Theory, presents lessons for understanding the social constructions of different travelling groups in relation to material culture. As such, they offer ways to encounter and examine the material culture of Showpeople and their placement in society, concepts further explore throughout empirical Chapters 4-7.

2.1.4. Showpeople

Akin to Highland travellers, Showpeople are not an officially recognised ethnic minority. Although they have a long and shared history with characteristic familial and cultural traditions, Showpeople do not identify themselves as a distinct ethnic group. Instead, they are a socio-

economic faction that live and breathe their work: ‘Showmen do not view themselves as an ethnic group, but a cultural one united by the fairground industry’ (Kasprzak, 2015: 2). Showpeople can trace their lineage through generations of show-culture, constructing the profession as a tradition in its own right: ‘Most Showmen can claim a family history in the business which goes back several generations, some even several centuries’ (Downie, 1998: 16). Passed down through the family, maintaining and overseeing a fairground becomes a way of life.

While traditional travel patterns have suffered at the hands of modernity, mobility remains an important element of Showpeoples cultural identity; though they are generally sedentary during the winter season, maintaining and repairing their rides, travelling is central to who they are; living together on static sites generates a tight-knit community where ‘family’ extends beyond the normal realms of lineage (see also: Downie, 1998).

Beyond travel, traditions of celebration and workmanship unite Showpeople as a social and familial community. Administered and governed, for the most part, by regulations of the ‘Scottish Showmen’s Guild’ (SSG), a registered trade union of Showmen created to protect the interest of its members, or the ‘Association of Independent Showmen’, a union of autonomous Showpeople designed to protect the rights of those not represented by the SSG, Showpeople represent a community of employment, heritage, and history (Dallas, 1971). Dibb, *et.al* (2005), historians and members of Laisterdyke’s local history group, maintain that the fairground is a communal space; and, while different families operate individually, it is still a community united through trade and tradition.

For Showmen, it is a working heritage; their identities are very much rooted in their work: ‘the fairground was much more than a way of making a living – it was a way of life!’ (Dibb, *et.al*, 2005: 69). However, tradition is not just the job, but also the rituals associated with the Showman’s performance: travelling to the same places, and rigging-up in the same spot, combine to become tradition. One of limited engagements with Showpeople, Toulmin (2009) examines the idea of an identity wherein a Showman has both a community and workplace character; a concept further examined in ‘4.2.3. *Sightlines*’.

Although Showpeople are distinct from Gypsy travellers, Highland travellers, and New Age travellers, they are often misidentified due to their mobility. Consequently, Showpeople have faced heightened criticism while being categorised as ‘outsiders’ within mainstream society; their association with Gypsy travellers, in particular, has sometimes resulted in ostracisation: ‘Aye, we get abuse ... times where [I’m] told to ‘f*ck off Gypo’ or ‘take ‘yer dirty

sel haem to the rest of the Gyps'... It's rare, but it does happen' (Interview excerpt. Benjamin. 31 October 2017). Cultural misconceptions and a lack of understanding are the predominant factors in this 'othering'. However, recently Showpeople have received recognition for their cultural and economic contributions: Alex Salmond, Scotland's First Minister at the time, publicly recognised Showpeople as 'an important part of Scotland's culture, history and economy' (Salmond, 2009: n.p.). Times are changing, and as Showpeople are becoming more involved in the presentation and preservation of their heritage and culture, modern mainstream society is demonstrating a growing awareness of their role as a community that brings joy and entertainment to the greater general public.

Across each of the aforementioned travelling groups, similarities and differences serve to unite and distinguish them as nomads of Scotland. Yet, what bonds them beyond their shared traits, are the impacts they have had and contributions they have made to the Scottish landscape, past and present. For the purposes of this thesis, contextualising these travelling groups has enabled me to understand how Showpeople (and travellers more generally) are constructed in society; permitted me to identify significant 'gaps' in academic writing; and, outlined concepts of identity and the 'outsider' in relation to travellers. Throughout my empirical chapters, this review is used to situate and inform my understandings of Showpeople as an itinerant community of Scotland, and as a way to engage with the production of vision, mobility, sound, and taste at the fair.

2.1.5. Geographers and their geographies

Shifting focus away from defining traveller groups, this chapter will now turn to look at academic geographers and their research on cultural diversity, discrimination, and mobility, focusing on the concurrent mobility and immobility of travellers by analysing how they have been considered and treated by mainstream society in recent decades. Specifically, this section explores geographies of travellers, drawing on work by Sibley (1995), Holloway (2003; 2005; 2007), Cresswell (1996a; 1999; 2002a; 2002b), and Shubin (2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2012), amongst others.

Various geographical writings have introduced identity as an evolving concept shaped by a myriad of factors, Sibley (1995) being a major proponent of this approach. Identity is a multifaceted term in any context, and when attempting to deconstruct it relative to particular nomadic groups, it becomes more complex and challenging as: 'Identity provides a link between

individuals and the world in which they live. Identity combines how I see myself and how others see me' (Woodward, 2004: 7). Work in this vein has covered analysis of ethnic identity, individual-and-group identity, place-related identity, and social identity. Perceived traveller status is often constructed around misconception, leading to their designation as marginal others or outsiders: 'The outsider is out of place, must not be trusted, and does not play by the rules' (Cresswell, 1996, in: Wissman, 2014: 23). The traveller as 'outsider' is thus positioned on the peripheries of the accepted 'social norm'. Much work on travellers engages with socially or politically composed conceptions of 'otherness', the notion of an immoral outsider, and the outsider/insider dichotomy (for example: Sibley, 1995; Tyler, 2013). This writing has offered means to deconstruct the characteristics of travelling cultures, such as tradition and community. However, within this academic research traveller identity is constantly called into question or challenged. Gill, *et.al* (2011) denounce approaches that structure traveller mobility as one-dimensional representations of freedom in nature; similarly, Adey (2017) questions associations of mobility and power. Mobility scholars in general have done more to recognise political framings of mobility, thereby shaping new understandings of travellers (for example: Cresswell, 2010). These geographers have brought us close-up to travelling geographies in ways that help us understand the literal mobilities at stake, as well as the meaning of mobility.

David Sibley (1983; 1995) provides a myriad of theories and perspectives from which to analyse and engage with the geographies of travelling groups, and for the purposes of this thesis, Showpeople. Clarifying questions of outsidership are very much questions of geography, and so understanding how travellers 'trouble' boundaries allows us to unpack the idea of the 'cultural traveller' often associated with nomadic factions. Sibley (1983) proposes when individuals or groups challenge their perceived politically constructed identity, it is understood as a threat to social order. Crossing boundaries (site, but also symbolic socially created boundaries) poses a threat to mainstream society, as these margins are designed to be socially impermeable; in turn, the construction of the 'outsider' becomes a way for society to combat this threat by constructing the transgressors as deviants. In line with these notions, Halfacree (1996) introduces ways to consider the 'moral landscape': a landscape created around society's moral values, fashioned to represent social standards of right and wrong. Here, the 'folk devil' or deviant 'outsider' is responsible for social changes. Their ability to cross between boundaries often associates travellers with this immorality: 'nomads threaten the sedentary by threatening their spatiality; nomads are the potential conquerors of the town' (Lefebvre, 1991, in: Halfacree, 1996: 53). More specifically, travelling between urban and rural areas challenges sedentary

boundaries, thereby representing the freedom and ‘immorality’ that neither space desires, in an identity that threatens the social norm.

Drawing on Sibley’s (1995) theories of the ‘outsider’ in urban society, mobile travellers present a threat to the standard constructions of society. In travelling between the figurative and literal boundaries of the city and rurality, travellers are seen to ‘trouble’ everyday social conventions; their mobile lifestyles and celebrated traditions thereby placing them on the periphery of social and moral order. These conventions are further examined by Holloway (2003), a geographer focusing on Gypsy travellers of Northern England, who draws on Sibley’s (1995) discussion of the romanticisation of nature to examine the ‘true Gypsy’ paradigm as a form of social ‘othering’. In particular, Holloway (2007) challenges constructions of the countryside as a rural idyll, a natural, tranquil landscape; a space constructed by a ‘small but powerful minority which grab the imagination of what country life stands for’ (Cloke and Little, 2005: 451), wherein the traveller becomes vagrant: ‘Gypsy travellers living in urban areas are viewed as deviant because stereotypes of Gypsies place them in country lanes ... as part of the rural idyll’ (Holloway, 2003: 697). Purposely, Sibley’s (1995) configurations permit Holloway (2003) to identify the rural idyll as the root of outsidership: ‘the countryside is popularly perceived as ‘white landscape’ ... predominantly inhabited by white people’ (Holloway, 2007: 8). Subsequently, the countryside becomes a space for ‘whiteness’ wherein anything that does not conform to the standards of the rural landscape, is characterised as threatening.

A particularly relevant example is the Newsom Appleby Horse fair where Gypsy travellers disrupt the everyday routine of rural life: ‘Some residents ... find that they suffer unwanted disruption to their daily routines ... some local businesses close down for the week in order to avoid anti-social behaviour, theft and/or vandalism’ (Holloway, 2005: 354). Though some locals accept these travellers as part of the community, most residents ‘other’ them; consequently, Gypsy travellers are constructed as outsiders within this rural space. It can be argued, that there are lessons here for understanding the lives of travelling groups across Scotland, including Showpeople, as their nomadism and ways of life regularly sees them ‘othered’ from mainstream society. A central feature of Holloway’s (2003) approach challenges identity as a static construction, instead noting that: ‘ideas of self and other in this context are not an essential part of a bounded self but are produced through interaction with the social milieu’ (Holloway, 2003: 697). This demonstrates the complex relationship between place and the social construction of identity, wherein I argue that this can be reconfigured as Bourdieu’s (1977) societal habitus: ‘a system of structure oriented towards practical functions

fundamentally constituted in practice' (Smith, 2013: 81). In turn, this socialisation creates characteristics we often ascribe to travellers, shaping our assumptions of social identity. Consequently, we perceive others in the way we have been socialised, so often the case with travellers.

Traveller migration from rural areas to the city, has further called into question the motives and characteristics of travellers. Modernisation, in particular, has seen travellers extend their reach, migrating from the countryside into the city, thereby troubling greater boundaries. In line with this change, travellers have come to be identified as vagrants. Here, Holloway's (2003) aforementioned paradigms can be used to criticise academic tendencies to over-indulge in nature's romance. Specifically, her writings inspire a move away from the current attitudes of thinking, towards a broader understanding of traveller culture, which acknowledge and incorporate race relations as an important element of their academic construction.

Turning to mobility studies more generally, the following discussion highlights geographic contributions to mobility in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and examines how certain mobilities are enabled or curtailed by the surveillant state. Cresswell (2002a) introduces ways to think about non-conforming mobility and the notion of an ethnically constructed identity. Defining ethnicity 'as a cultural marker that indicates shared traditions, heritage, and ancestral origins' (Orbe and Harris, 2001, in: Fong, *et.al*, 2004: 5), Cresswell (2002a) engages with existing debates and theories on the importance of ethnicity in shaping identity. Analysing the identity of New Age travellers, he advocates that ethnicity should be regarded as a collective history and tradition between group members. Paramount to this discussion is the acknowledgement of multiple traveller identities, wherein all travellers have individual customs. Here, a connection can be made to Clark and Greenfield's (2006) sociology, wherein travellers are identified in three classifications: (i) non-ethnic travellers; (ii) travellers; or, (iii) ethnic travellers. Non-ethnic travellers are afforded no legal classifications as they do not possess their own culture, values, or heritage; travellers are not legally classified as travellers, though do have their own culture; conversely, ethnic travellers are legally recognised as official ethnic travelling groups by the Race Relations Amendment Act UK (2000). All are mobile, but their legal rights vary depending on the official criteria they meet. In bringing together Cresswell's (2002a) and Clark and Greenfield's (2006) understandings, we can demonstrate the distinct divide in the way traveller identities are constructed and legally recognised in Scotland, often without their input.

Cresswell (1996a) further exposes the existing difficulties faced by Gypsy travellers in Britain by highlighting the disregard of travellers in legislature and their lack of basic rights. Drawing on Judith Okley's (1983) and David Sibley's (1983) engagements with the romanticisation of travellers, Cresswell (1996a) exposes a tension between identity and outsidership; between society and cultures that defines how nomadic groups, in particular Gypsy travellers, are characterised. Within mainstream society, there is a tendency to associate travellers with deviance, frequently 'expressed through descriptive terms like dirt, disease, and smell' (Cresswell, 1996a: 81). As a particular example, Cresswell draws on Hippy travellers at Stonehenge to argue that common misconceptions of traveller mobility imply geographical transgression, thus, relating mobility to deviance. In challenging the central role of home dwelling in sedentary society, Cresswell's (1996a) analysis of traveller culture, and the depiction of the mobile home as a version of sedentary living, represents an attempt to 'humanise' travellers more generally to construct them as their own culture, without being the 'other'. As such, it offers ways to consider traveller mobilities from differing perspectives of sedentarism.

In mobility studies more generally, Cresswell's (1999) analysis of the female tramp in America introduces notions of mobility politics embodied in performance. The mobility of the tramp (or more correctly itinerant traveller) is suggestive of broader social and cultural dimensions of marginalisation and opposition: 'Gender, like mobility and embodiment, is implicated in social power both as a product of power and as a producer of it ... mobility, embodiment, and gender are all interrelated in complex and varied ways in moving, gendered bodies' (Cresswell, 1999: 176). As vagrants, tramps are commonly understood to pose a threat to social moral order, by crossing boundaries between spaces and the safety of sedentary life. Socially misunderstood, female tramps represent a mobility located on the periphery: 'female tramps are perceived as a community of double outsiders – a neither/nor group in the margin of a margin' (Cresswell, 1999: 190). Thus, they represent a literal embodiment of a socially constructed category: 'the discovery of cross-dressing tramps and the questioning of their sexuality produces panic in anxious observers' (Cresswell, 1999: 189). As vagrancy is predominantly associated with male characteristics, female tramps are understood as a threat to social moral order as they blur gender boundaries, highlighting mobility as an embodied social movement, illustrating how different bodies give mobility meaning. This is an important construction when thinking through the mobility of travellers, as it is these associative limitations, in particular, that befall travellers across Scotland. Arguably, this difference in

understanding and acceptance shapes different ways in which mobility can be embodied, thus, presenting mobility as a socially constructed factor. For the purposes of this thesis, Cresswell's (1999) approach to mobility highlights the need to understand mobility and resulting immobility as complex systems of networks and flows that shape space. This is particularly important for considering how traveller mobility has been and continues to be represented by and encountered in society.

As discussed by Sibley (1993; 1995), Holloway (2003; 2005; 2007), and Cresswell (1996a; 1999; 2002a; 2002b), travellers' cross boundaries, thereby challenging sedentarism by introducing conflicting dichotomies. Specifically, tensions are presented between moral and immoral spaces, insider and outsider constructions, urban and rural places, and nomadic and sedentary lifestyles. Settlements on the outskirts of towns and travel routes that straddle country and city limits, create hybrid spaces that challenge the structures of contemporary society. This hybridity fuses elements of mobility with customs of sedentary life; resultingly, traveller sites and meeting spaces, wherein a fluid network between place, time, and space is generated, are conceived as a threat to the morals of society.

More recent engagement with geographies of traveller mobility offer complex understandings of the lives and mobilities of these travellers. Focusing on migration in Scotland, Shubin (2011a; 2012) reconfigures mobility as corporeal and spiritual, arguing that Eastern European migrants, and travelling groups more generally, exemplify movements of both sedentary society and nomadism. Though the vast majority of travelling groups are settled in modern society, their mobility continues to be perceived as a threat, primarily due to misconception. To confront this, Shubin (2011a; 2012) challenges societal institutions to adopt a 'pro-mobility' approach; one that appreciates migration as an extension of spirituality *and* a representation of different mobilities. Focusing on religious spaces in rural Scotland, he acquaints transnational migration with an affectual mobility; a pilgrimage of sorts, engrained in celebration, tradition, and community. In his writings, Shubin (2011b) also challenges current understandings of Gypsy traveller conception by positing that nomadism is embodied, felt, and experienced in the customs and traditions of travellers. Pre-conceived understandings of mobility fail to understand cultural motivations of mobility, and thus limit possibilities for travellers to embed themselves within Scottish society and culture. As a way to broaden perceptions of traveller mobility, Shubin (2011b) suggests an approach, wherein movement is re-introduced and reconfigured as a process of accepted dwelling within society. This presents a distinct move away from previously discussed Traditionalist and Lorist paradigms of traveller

mobility and thus offers means to think through the past and present migration practice of Scotland's Showpeople as a reflection of embodied affect.

In an attempt to reconfigure traveller mobility, Shubin and Swanson (2010) present notions that echo those of Cresswell (1999), arguing that mobility reflects power relationships shaped through practice-based movement. Drawing on Gypsy travellers in North-East Scotland, they contend that traveller mobility is motivated principally by emotion. However, often regulations and policies pertaining to mobile lifestyles demonstrate significant misunderstanding of traveller intent. As such, travellers are needlessly 'othered' within society. Central to the empirical chapters of this thesis is the understanding that mobility is fluid, often practiced through memory and associated nostalgia. Here, Shubin and Swanson's (2010) ideas are used to position mobility as an integral aspect of travellers' cultural and affective beliefs; consequently, I argue that mobility needs to be approached as a product of narrative, memory and history.

At the travelling fair, physical movement, mobility, and travel are not just aspects of trade, but rather an integral part of its existence. Thus, Shubin's (2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2012) broader understandings of mobility lend themselves to unpacking the complex and varied mobilities of Scotland's travelling fairgrounds, further explored in '*Chapter 6. Mobilities of, and in, the fairground space*'.

2.1.6. Traveller geographies in this thesis

Travelling people and cultures have long been misunderstood and misrepresented, often as one ethnic community. While most lead a nomadic lifestyle, there are few other similarities. Gypsy travellers, New Age travellers, Highland travellers, and Showpeople are distinctly different in their traditions, cultural beliefs, and practices.

The emphasis of much academic work on identity, the social outsider, tradition, and community provides an enticing platform for further engagement and investigation. Recent discussions on traveller identity have attempted to move away from Lorist and Traditionalist ideas about the 'true' traveller, instead presenting a more realistic image of travelling culture; partly by creating distinctions between multiple traveller groups. Despite these distinctions, the process and construction of 'othering', indicates that travelling is 'outside' the norm. Much academic writing has thus attempted to understand how travellers have come to be termed as outsiders in such a way that has shaped our understanding of traveller existence; positions and notions also challenged within the empirical chapters of this thesis.

Many of the above reviewed writings represent sociological and anthropological perspectives, as considerable work that has stemmed from geography has paid little or no attention to communities and cultures outside of Gypsy travellers, with the exception of Toulmin (2009) and Cresswell (2002a). The travelling fairground involves variously changing social constructions; hence, we must recognise that Showpeople might be ‘othered’ through both symbolic orderings *and* literal material and mobile processes. Consequently, it is important to consider the different geographies that are present within their social othering, and how these constructions are formulated within society, as well as how they have been encountered across academia. In questioning the role of identity and the ‘outsider’, geographers Sibley (1995), Holloway (2003; 2005; 2007), Cresswell (1996a; 1999; 2002b) and Shubin (2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2012) have generated platforms for addressing the complex geographies within traveller culture. These contributions help us consider and encounter experiences of travelling groups more generally, thinking geographically about mobility and its critical role in shaping the fair space; central reflections of chapters ‘5.1. *Taste: popular culture, class, and society*’ and ‘6.1. *Mobility: a life of travel*’. As such, they are called upon throughout empirical chapters to discover and enrich the role of traveller mobility and the fair’s constructions in creating fairground sound, vision, and taste.

More broadly, this review has attempted to demonstrate the importance of reflection in regard to changing senses of identity and cultural differences between travelling groups, as well as highlight the need for geographic work that engages with under-represented travelling cultures. Throughout this thesis as a whole, these themes are utilised to interpret the mobilities of Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds, and generate an account of their geographies, past and present.

2.2. Materiality, mobility, and modernity: geographies of the fairground and beyond

Human geography is an inter-disciplinary subject with concerted efforts amongst academics to re-engage with, and question, pre-established theories of society and culture. Areas of focused attention have been the re-examination of materiality, mobility and modernity, as both stand-alone *and* intertwined fields of study (Aitken and Valentine, 2014). Accordingly, this review considers geographical theories of materiality, mobility, and modernity in relation to the fairground and beyond. Below, I consider Corbin’s (2002) ideas on fairground heritage villages and Edensor’s (2012) theories on Blackpool’s affective properties, framed by wider

understandings of material geography. In section ‘2.2.2. *Mobility*’ I scrutinise Philips’ (2012) philosophies on fairground genealogy and Weinstein’s (1992) principles on the modern amusement park as a vehicle for considering current theories on mobility. Finally, in relation to ‘2.2.3. *Modernity*’ I engage with Gunning’s (2004) assessment on visual experiences of modernity, and Toulmin’s (2003) work on the modern progression of the fairground as a way to reflect on broader geographies of modernity. To conclude I present the salient materialities, mobilities, and modernities of the fairground, in order to interpret this complex leisure space.

2.2.1. Materiality

A multi-disciplinary cultural turn in the 1980s and 1990s resulted in renewed understandings of materiality and new ways to acknowledge culture as a route through which people experience meaning. The emergence of post-human geographies introduced a new appreciation of non-human objects, and a shift in emphasis towards attending to affect and the material, resulting in an object-based approach grounded in actor-network-theory (Cresswell, 2011): an ethos in social geography that positions objects as actors in social networks. The material turn’ moved beyond human and non-human dichotomies to recognise that relationships with other objects shapes material agency (Pinney, 2005). Critical proponents in this turn were, among others, Geertz (1973), and Bourdieu (1984). Inspired in part by Simmel’s (1950) advocacy for culture to be understood as ‘the processes of socialisation’ (Spykman, 1984: 30), Geertz (1973) proposed that there needed to be a greater focus on the cultural and social processes that underpin objects. Bourdieu (1984) meanwhile, further developed these understandings to theorise that materials have agency. Consequently, materiality has come to be understood as ‘the objects and structures with a certain symbolic value that give space its shape and substance’ (Latham, *et.al*, 2009: 62). Recent work in this field engages with the idea, and affective capacity, of a material culture: the ‘relationship between people and things, or... the expression and negotiation of culture, political and economic relationships via the material world of objects’ (Gregory, *et.al*, 2009: 448). This revitalised understanding of materiality has particularly shaped the way in which materials and material sites at the fair have been approached, as well as shaping my understandings of how fairground materials work together to create the visions, tastes, mobilities, and sounds that the fair is known for.

A fairground is a site of complex geographies, where materialities, mobilities, modernities, histories, and emotions combine to create a hybrid space of sensory fascination. Corbin (2002) constructs the fairground as a site of historic preservation, using analysis of

historic buildings at fairgrounds as a medium to construct and challenge an imagined past. Today, ‘fairground heritage villages [are] intended to destabilise the past as a fixed, isolated space’ (Corbin, 2002: 225). More specifically, they are designed to encourage fairgoers to reflect on their past through a clear and accessible retelling of history. Drawing on the North Carolina State Fairground and the Wilson County State Fair in Tennessee, Corbin (2002) argues that heritage villages make local history visible through embodied performance with material. Historical re-enactments are performed to display life in old towns, while materials, including photographs and artefacts (Fig. 2.1) are used bring to life past atmospheres.



Fig. 2.1: ‘Furniture, clothing and other artefacts – many from local families – are displayed in building interiors.’ North Carolina State Fairground. Source: Corbin, 2002: 226.

Here, similarities can be drawn to Scotland's 'Common Riding' fairs where traditional border-protection practices are celebrated through performance. Towns across Scotland's borders set the scene for old rituals, wherein men and women ride through town in an historical celebration. These Common Ridings celebrate tradition and ancestry and amalgamate fair pleasures and cultural history; here, travelling fairs denote the commencement of such celebrations. Akin to Corbin's (2002) heritage spaces, Common Riding fairs incite reflection about local life and memory, thus allowing histories to be recalled and encountered in the present. In this environment, materials and performance situate fairgoers in an 'historical atmosphere', and a temporary site whereby: 'the fairground collections connect local life and memory and offer potential to develop links between past and present landscape' (Corbin, 2002: 227). Although fairgrounds can be described as an unlikely compilation source for heritage collections, the fairs association with indulgence, create atmospheres that suit these heritage villages. Specifically, they evoke nostalgia grounded in performance and experience, a site within which nostalgic affect might take hold. In this vein, Corbin's (2002) writings present new ways of encountering the value of material and performance in fairgrounds. In particular, understanding the use of material in producing atmosphere, provides insight into the many ways that atmospheres of the fair are brought to life. Throughout my empirical chapters, this historical association is called upon to situate and explore changing tastes of the fair and the way these have permeated the creation of vision, taste, mobility, and sound across time.

Edensor (2012), meanwhile, presents ways of analysing the relationship between materials and affect at the fair by considering the geographies of light at Blackpool's 'Pleasure Beach'. Specifically, he observes that light, fuses representational and non-representational atmospheres: 'the obscure agencies of ... [the] non-human transforms the familiar material world, changing the form and texture of objects, eroding their assigned meanings, and blurring the boundaries between things' (Edensor, 2015b: 318). Along the 'Pleasure Beach', lasers and neon lights project animated scenes from popular culture (Fig. 2.2) to create a new affective landscape.



Fig. 2.2: ‘Alice in Wonderland tableau section.’ Blackpool Pleasure Beach. Source: Edensor, 2012: 1112.

Drawing on Böhme’s (1993) theories of affective impression wherein atmosphere is shaped as a reflection of broader social constructions and an individual’s personal feelings, Edensor (2012) figures atmosphere as a ‘co-presence’ of sorts, a resulting effect of interaction between material objects and immaterial subjects: ‘we do not actually see the luminous dust particles as dust particles ... we see points of light’ (Böhme, 2017: 195). Böhme (1993), and by extension Edensor (2012), figure light as a representation of surrounding space. At the ‘Pleasure Beach’ and at travelling fairs, physical and sensory engagement with illuminated spaces create deeply embodied experiences: ‘a space attunes my mood, but at the same time is the extendedness of my mood itself’ (Edensor, 2012: 1106). The atmospheres of ‘Pleasure Beach’ are embodied in sensory experiences of light, capable of altering human perceptions of colour, shape, and space: ‘solidity of fixtures appears to contrast with the radiating energy that animates and suffuses space’ (Edensor, 2012: 1107). Thus, this space emphasises human perceptions of their surroundings through identifying differences between material and immateriality. At the travelling fairground, lights enhance experience, and so Edensor’s (2012) work enables exploration of their role in shaping affect and emotion *and* offers an insightful approach from

which to consider the complexities of light. These ideas are explored in more depth in section '4.2.2. *Visions of art*', where the spotlight falls on the geographies of vision that emerge within the fairground space. By engaging with light as a source of atmosphere, later discussions emphasise the fragility of the fairground atmosphere, exploring how patterns of electric lighting, as well as fluctuations between light and dark states, can transform fairgoers experience.

Within cultural geography more generally, recent engagements with material have figured them as agentic. DeSilvey (2006; 2010) in particular, considers materials as capable of manifesting history, and in facilitating the cultural significance of material transformation, centres on the agency of the non-human. In greater depth, DeSilvey's (2006) review of the Moon Randolph Homestead in Missoula [Montana], a public heritage site once belonging to the Moon Randolph family, offers ways to understand complex material networks. Working with its derelict remains, crumbling walls (Fig. 2.3), broken glass jars, and mould-covered newspapers, DeSilvey (2006) contemplates the agency of discarded and forgotten objects.



Fig. 2.3: ‘The ‘Home Comfort’ cookstove holds its own against a collapsing wall in the homestead kitchen.’ Moon Randolph Homestead. Source: DeSilvey, 2006: 319.

Specifically, that ‘rejected bits and pieces ... still have some identity [agency] because they can be traced back to their origins’ (Douglas, 1996, in: DeSilvey, 2006: 320). Here, materials and ‘forgotten remains’ are considered capable of telling their own stories of history and mobility.

Similarly, the Milltown Montana sound exhibition permits DeSilvey (2010) to examine theories of ‘material disarticulation’ – the displacement of objects – by focusing on how cultural recollection is locally enacted. Created by the artist Trimpin out of salvaged materials from the

Milltown dam, this response to the destruction of Milltown's river landscape, figures performance as cultural memory, wherein materials become a representation of public remembrance. This attempt to 're-materialise' the past highlights the complex relationship between people, material and place. Cultural remembrance is also a key part of Showpeople's lives through everyday interactions with fairground materials; travelling fairgrounds provide sites for historical and cultural performance – by fairgoers, enthusiasts, and Showpeople, each in their own way. In bringing to life the agency of materials, DeSilvey (2010) provides the basis through which to geographically encounter fairground materials as catalysts of culture and cultural memory. In my own work, exploring the agency of objects as well as their preservation, has enabled me to experience at first-hand the variety of these fairground wonders. Understanding gleaned from these interactions have, for the most part, enabled me to better consider their impact on the fairs' space – central reflections for unpacking how vision, taste, mobility, and sound are made manifest [as elements of atmosphere].

Comparatively, working with the stones of St. Ann's Church in Manchester, permits Edensor (2011) to figure materials capable of adapting to and reflecting their environments. Variations of sandstone represent a materiality that is 'always being assembled and reassembled in changing configurations' (Sheller and Urry, 2006, in: Edensor, 2011: 239) as a diverse material geography. Through processes of repair and restoration, St. Ann's now represents a geographic assemblage identifiable through the different shades of its stones. In this way, Edensor (2011) proposes that materials become agents through their ability to adapt; the stones of St. Ann's withstand weather (fig. 2.4) and pollution, instead mutating these effects into their everyday landscape.



Fig. 2.4: ‘Plate 2 – Stone delamination and biofilm colonisation’. St. Ann’s Church. Source: Edensor, 2011: 243.

By further extension, Edensor’s (2011) ideas can be used to understand the impact of popular culture and its resulting implications on the agency of fairground materials, frequently displayed through visual changes; an effect further examined in ‘4.2.2. *Visions of art*’. At both St. Ann’s and the travelling fair, processes of restoration and repair unite human and non-human agencies – humans repairing, [stones or] fairground materials adapting. In this register, Edensor (2011) permits further consideration of the material agency at Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds, particularly in relation to materialities of sight and site.

From a social perspective, DeSilvey and Edensor’s (2012) analysis of ruins considers materiality as a product of society. In analysing diverse geographic engagements with ruins, including Kitchin, *et.al*’s (2012) construction of Irish ghost estates as ‘ruins in reverse’, and Qviström’s (2012) development of Lund’s railway networks as space of absence, DeSilvey and

Edensor (2012) reimagine ruins as spatial reflections of place, capable of symbolising and mirroring the mutation of their surroundings; sites that stand as representations of social change. Ruins ‘can be understood and interpreted as evidence of the kinds of cultures through which they have been shaped’ (Latham, *et.al*, 2009: 63). As such, they can be comprehended as material agents that challenge one-dimensional understandings of materiality; fairground objects might be considered in similar ways. These objects tell the story of changing trends and cultures not only of fair space, but also of society and popular culture more generally. Consequently, ruins can help us think through the changing fairground landscape, and the potential for fairground objects to enable a rereading of its past. Within my empirical chapters, these comparisons have been used to further understandings of changing taste (*‘Chapter 5. Taste and Taste: cultures and flavours of the fair’*), reflecting on the symbiotic relationship between social and cultural popular culture and its physical materialisation at the fair.

These reflections are echoed by Edensor (2005a) wherein he argues that ‘wasted’ space is often transformed into abstract space through material ruins. As material representations of the spaces they used to be, ruins have the potential to challenge cultural and social understandings of and approach towards landscapes. Sensual effects of ‘crumbling objects produce textures, smells, and facilities’ (Edensor, 2011: 122); engaging with these ruins produces experience in memory through sensory stimulation. Ruinous objects challenge spaces to be affective, thereby creating memoryscapes by materialising memory, ‘assembling iconographic forms and producing stages for organising a relationship with the past’ (Edensor, 2011: 130). In similar ways, DeSilvey (2007) considers objects as tools for remembrance. Drawing on Benjamin’s (1997) construction of collection as a form of social memory-making, DeSilvey (2007) argues that material collections divulge hidden histories in their association with other objects. Materials are shaped as capable of creating momentary connections between histories and the objects that remain. Wooden quilting frames, and ‘moth-pocked shirts’ (DeSilvey, 2007: 402) exemplify the agentic capacities of material to re-collect and enliven the historical geographies of a Montana homestead. In this vein, examining materials in relation to one another can reveal traces of past social behaviours and cultures (DeSilvey, 2007). Arguably, similar activities of collecting, storing, and restoring old fairground items is a way for Showpeople and enthusiasts to remember the past; a central practice within the fair. As such, these geographies are particularly useful for thinking through the fairground, especially when considering retired materials and objects, once used to produce vibrant atmospheres through mobility, sound, vision, and taste.

Jackson (2010) too has argued for a rematerialising of geography, and a focus on non-human agents with affective capacities, but in *different* ways; namely, by highlighting upon food as a materiality and a source of pleasure. He suggests that appetite for food materials ‘bring together a cacophony of feelings, hopes, pleasures and worries, [orchestrating] experiences that are at once intensely individual and social’ (Probyn, 2000, in: Jackson, 2013: 25). Appetite involves sociocultural elements of cultural *and* haptic taste, and this is relevant for an analysis of the fair. Food is a materiality through which human bodies derive emotion and affect by challenging constructed boundaries between private and public spheres. Food can shape the way space is experienced, and conversely, space can influence the shape of taste: ‘embodiment, emotion and affect play a large role in shaping human appetite’ (Jackson, 2011: 70). Traditionally, fairgrounds serve cheap and unhealthy, yet indulgent food, commonly associated with society’s proletariat. In the past, fair spaces were regarded as socially deprived; a place for those of lower social standing. Hence, Jackson’s (2010) theories can be used to think about how the fair is culturally manifest through food materials and is called upon in more detail in ‘5.2. *Haptic taste: sensory perceptions, recollections, and understandings*’. More specifically, these notions present ways to engage with the fairs’ changing gustatory cultures and their resulting impact on its atmosphere.

Similarly, Mitchell’s (2003) considerations on the material production of strawberries in California is useful in thinking through materiality as a product of mobility, labour and practice. For workers, the strawberry landscape is a ‘patchwork of networks and flows, but one in which the strawberry represents the fruit of the devil’ (Mitchell, 2003: 236). As a food material requiring intense manual labour for a poor wage, strawberries represent an uneven power of social relations. In general terms, the strawberry represents what Mitchell (2003) terms, a ‘dead labour’; an action resulting into a defined product. Fairground food is also a production of intense labour, often met with little reward. Fairground food materials require intense and rigorous production, both before and during ‘show-time’, yet are wholly dependent on the demands and desires of the consumer. In this space, food combines complex networks and landscapes in its existence. As such, food presents a useful way of engaging with the fairground space, and as a material through which to understand how fair atmosphere is produced and experienced; ideas further developed in ‘5.2. *Haptic taste: sensory perceptions, recollections, and understandings*’.

Extended across atmosphere and space, the travelling fairground introduces a complex materiality rooted in being; thus, the above-discussed theories remain broadly comparable, by

advocating that materials are key to a renewed understanding of [popular] culture in society. These writings offer ways to think through materials as fundamental elements of travelling fairgrounds, wherein affective capacities, emotional experiences, and charged atmospheres are rooted in the mobility and combination of materials in space; these ideas are further discussed and expanded across empirical chapters (4-7) as a way to engage with the fairs' vision, taste, mobility, and sound.

2.2.2. Mobility

Geography's cultural turn also sparked re-evaluation of mobility in academic research wherein attention shifted from notions of places as static, to include approaches exploring the movement and dynamism of networks, present even in lack of physical mobility. This encouraged a 'rethinking of the politics of travel and metaphors for movement' (Shubin and Swanson, 2010: 919). As such, mobility has been defined as 'the movement of people, *ideas*, or goods through place and space' (Gregory, *et.al*, 2009: 467). Consequently, it is important to consider, how mobility can involve a range of embodied practices with places, spaces, materials *and* people. Following Creswell (1999: 176), mobility can be defined 'as a human geographical activity imbued with meaning and power'. Focusing on fairground genealogy (Philips, 2012) and the modern amusement park (Weinstein, 1992), this chapter explores mobility as seen through the lens of navigating and transgressing boundaries.

Weinstein (1992) chronicles the key role of mobility in the construction of the 'modern' amusement park; as a place that amalgamates past, present, and future in its technologies and mobilities, the fairground offers a wide range of entertainment. Historically, and still today, fairgrounds implement performed narratives to generate flows of people through the fair (see also: Adyanthaya, 2007). Over time, they crossed boundaries, melded bodies and transformed spaces into sites of hybrid display of voyeurism and consumption (see also: Hoffman, 2005). Underlying the production of the modern fairground is a complex mobility: although they are 'static' in their placement, rides fly and soar into the sky, twisting and turning punters through the air, realising literal *and* material manifestations of mobility. These conceptions are further explored in '5.1. *Taste: popular culture, class, and society*' and 'Chapter 6. *Mobilities of, and in, the fairground space*', both in relation to fluctuating social pressures, as well as the production of atmosphere.

Disneyland and Coney Island, in particular, are sites that combine various mobilities, fusing modern technology with American culture in: 'a hysteria of park promotions, presenting

a variety of attractions ... [that] appealed to all classes and achieved a considerable degree of permanence' (Weinstein, 1992: 44). Although fairgrounds have developed in terms of their technology, the core fundamentals [rides, games, stalls, food, etc.] and experiences of the amusement park have not changed:

'The spirit of gaiety and emotional excitement in a park must be manufactured – via scenery, light shows and buildings. An 'other world', a fantastic fairyland ... must be created'

(Weinstein, 1992: 138).

What can be clearly identified from Weinstein's (1992) discussion is the construction of [fairground] mobility as a transgressive force; challenging society by marrying technology, modernity, and traditional culture. This construction of mobility as physical movement plays a large role in the fair space, not only when engaging with its mobility, but also as a way to understand the fairs changing visions, tastes, and sounds. As such, physical mobility is placed as a direct influence of change throughout my empirical discussions and is explored accordingly in '*Chapter 4. Site and Sight: spaces and illusions of the fair*', '*5.1. Taste: popular culture, class, and society*', '*Chapter 6. Mobilities of, and in, the fairground space*', and '*7.1. Sound: sensory manifestations of the travelling fairground*'.

Similarly, Philips (2012) shapes the fairground as a space of mobility, both in the movement of materials and in configurations of routine landscapes. As examples of manufactured space, Disneyland (United States) and Tivoli Gardens (Denmark) exemplify an ever-mobile space. Mechanised materials (rides, amusements, stalls, and attractions), introduce a complex network between people, material and place, representative of popular cultural changes. It is a mobility expressed in complex relationships subject to societal and cultural demand. These foundations can be applied to the geographies of the travelling fair in similar ways, thinking specifically about the role of mobility in shaping atmosphere. As explored in '*6.4. Mobility in the fairground space: mechanics of motion*', mobility is a central element of the fair and thus worthy of further consideration as a substantial producer of experience and affect.

Turning to mobility geographies more broadly, Cresswell (2011) argues that all places have mobility as a constitutive quality, even if they are deemed 'immobile'. Thus, places are not just affected by movement, but rather are moving, busy entities themselves. Mobility, in different forms, plays a key role in society and therefore in shaping perceptions. Cresswell's (2006: 748-749) empirical study uses the American Justice System to highlight how 'mobility in a US context is given meaning through the reasoned arguments of Supreme Court judges who, in each case, make arguments about mobility as a right'. Here, mobility becomes the

property of the individual through the right to free movement. From these writings, we can deduce that Cresswell (2006) supports the move away from mobility only as physical movement, towards an exploration of how mobility is legally, socially, and politically constructed. This is particularly relevant when thinking about mobility politics of travellers, often labelled as non-conforming; specifically, challenging existing notions of accepted mobility, opens new ways of understanding traveller mobility. These ideas are particularly helpful when considering the relationship between social change and taste at the fair and are called upon throughout my empirical chapters; particularly, in section ‘5.1. *Taste: popular culture, class, and society*’ to further explore how the fair, and consequently Showpeople, have fallen in and out of social favour. Additionally, these constructions are used to consider the role of popular culture in configuring spaces and identities of outsider status, further explored in section ‘6.1. *Mobility: a life of travel*’.

Comparatively, Adey’s (2010: front matter) definition of mobility as ‘social relationships through which the world is lived and understood’, encourages radically an approach that examines the relationship between people and movement. Mobility politics in New Orleans, motoring in India, and the social relationships present in mobile phone use, allow Adey (2017) to conclude that mobility is ever-present in our lives. In his work on airport mobility, Adey (2004) attempts to displace static understandings of airports by arguing that although they are permanent infrastructures, the movement of people and objects [freight or planes, for example] results in the redistribution of this immobility. Consequently, airports become mobile through a series of interactions between body and material in spaces that create and curtail different types of movement. Airports become symbols of mobility afforded agency as spaces of movement. More broadly, we can infer that although spaces can appear immobile, they always have an element of mobility to them; a notion further developed in ‘6.2. *Continuous static mobility*’.

A further attempt to destabilise the meaning of mobility sees Kraftl and Adey (2008) analyse the relationship between architecture and affect, by engaging with the affectual capacities of Nant-y-Cwm Steiner School (Fig. 2.5), a representation of ecological architecture, and Liverpool Airport, a manifestation of modern design.



Fig. 2.5: 'The exterior of the kindergarten at Nant-y-Cwm'. Source: Kraftl and Adey, 2008: 217.

Here, affect and interaction generate mobility in place: 'the capacity of buildings to allow inhabitation to take place constantly emerges through ongoing, dynamic encounters between buildings, their constituent elements, and spaces' (Kraftl and Adey, 2008: 214). Thus, every place experiences mobility. In examining the affects of architecture, they highlight the intertwined nature of movement and experience. As such, their approach is particularly important for the empirical chapters within this thesis, throughout which the relationship between mobility and affect are explored in relation to the production of a fairground atmosphere (see '4.2.1. *Artistic vision*', '6.3. *Intensities of mobility: transformations of place and space*', '6.4. *Mobility in the fairground space: mechanics of motion*', and '7.1.2. *The Ghost Train*'). Within my thesis, geographies of mobility, particularly the creation of affective movement, are called upon to explore how affect and atmosphere are shaped by mobility, not only as a force of movement, but also as a significant influence on vision, taste, and sound.

Rooted in examples of Eastern European mobility in North-East Scotland, Shubin (2011a) introduces the idea of an 'affectual mobility' wherein migrant practices are constructed as a purposeful and considered activity; a movement performed for historical tradition and cultural preservation. Traveller mobility is reconfigured as an affective celebration of religious

tradition, similar to observed ritual pilgrimage in mainstream society. Therefore, Gypsy traveller movement should not be understood as a threat to Western sedentarism, but rather as a performance of belief (Shubin 2012). In this capacity, mobility can be reconfigured as a process of being in the world: ‘a passage between being pure and being there, in being as such and actual particular existence’ (Dewsbury, 2007, in: Shubin, 2011c: 1932). Here, ‘mobile being’, as introduced by Massumi (2002), is ‘never already constituted as it operates across the territories and scales and it is not anchored in any particular discourse of perspective’ (in: Shubin, 2011b: 509). Rather, it is an immobile structure of feeling motivated by emotion (see also: Thrift, 1996); an understanding integral to exploring ‘6.2. *Continuous static mobility*’ and its impact on social taste.

Drawing on theories from broader geographic discussions of mobility, Weinstein (1992) and Philips (2012) present the fairground as a space of movement; ideas akin to those of Cresswell (2006; 2011) and Adey (2006; 2008), who advocate the importance of a new understanding of mobility. While Cresswell (2011) questions how mobility takes shape, Adey (2006) focuses his efforts on moving away from the idea of a static place. Here, comparisons can be drawn to Shubin (2011a) who localises his approach in perceived mobilities of Scottish travellers as a way to reconfigure ‘traditional’ mobility as affective. Though differing in method, each of the above-discussed theories position mobility as the movement of networks and people through space, clearly portraying how multifaceted Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds are. Memories, traditions, and connections through time add greatly to traveller mobility; for Showpeople, being becomes an embodied way of coping with the world, and mobility living reflections of past movements. Understanding these conflicting constructions of mobility helps to localise and situate the complex mobilities of Scotland’s travelling fairs, particularly in relation to the main themes of taste, vision, mobility, and sound in the thesis.

2.2.3. Modernity

As ‘a future-oriented conception of time that figures the present a radical rupture from the past’ (Thomas, 2011, in: Wagner, 2015: n.p.), modernity represents a modern alternative approach to thinking, theory, and knowledge-making. Geography’s cultural turn introduced a modernity focused on changes, and while some authors use modernity as a key to understanding society (see: Shields, 1991), others acknowledge it as a potential threat to preservations of the past (see: MacDonald, 2011). At the fair, modernity has radicalised space, materiality, and mobility in its everyday capabilities, impacting the fairs tastes, visions, mobilities, and sounds. However, akin

to divided scholarly opinion, in this chapter modernity is explored as both a proponent of change, as well as a threat to tradition.

Focusing on the modernity of early cinema, Gunning (1994) offers insights into understanding the roles of modernity, urbanisation, and industrialisation in the travelling fairground. As early forms of cinema, travelling fairgrounds showcased technologies of the future, ‘soliciting attention and curiosity through active display’ (Gunning, 1994: 190). Cinema developed out of popular culture and desire for visual experiences; thus, fairground films became not only a reflection, but also an embodiment, of modernity itself. Although Gunning (1994) approaches modernity from the perspective of film, his theories introduce broader geographic considerations relating to modernity, movement, and space. Namely, notions similar to those of Kern (1983), wherein new modes of modernity [i.e. urbanisation and technological industrialisation] fostered novel understandings of space as socially constructed. Here, a further connection can be made to Hetherington’s (1997) configurations of social spaces as metaphorical ‘badlands’ of modernity, shaped by their desire and ability to transform. At the fair technological modernity shaped social and cultural advancement, and thereby, how fair-goers experienced space and time; theories further drawn upon in ‘6.4. *Mobility in the fairground space: mechanics of motion*’. As such, modern cinema represented new forms of being, inspiring social and cultural development. In addition to providing a historical overview, these writings also permit extensive consideration of changing tastes and fashions at the fair. They also offer ways to consider how vision, taste, mobility, and sound have been shaped and moulded by modernity, and as a result, to understand how this symbiosis has impacted the fair’s production of atmosphere over time.

In a similar vein, Toulmin (2001) constructs fairground cinema as a manifestation of social modernity. Focusing on the element of modernity in British fairground cinema she highlights Showmen as integral characters in modernising society through Bioscope shows (Fig. 2.6); a substantial part of the trade.



Fig. 2.6: Charles Thurston's Royal Show, 1903. Philip Swindelhurst. Reproduced with permission from the National Fairground and Circus Archive, University of Sheffield.

More specifically, travelling Showmen pioneered the British film profession, shaping popular cultural and cinematic trends with their moving pictures. However, modernity and innovation were not only reflected in film content, but also in the physicality of trade itself. Showcasing projection equipment, lightbulbs, and moving pictures, travelling fairs paved the way for technological innovation. Through examining the role of cinema as representations of fairground modernity, Toulmin (2001) suggests the need for a greater focus on modernity as a source of movement and cultural history; an idea integral to understanding the changing landscape of Scotland's travelling fairgrounds. The above works are particularly important for the context of my thesis as they enable me to consider not only the emergence of British cinema, but also the effects of modernisation on cultural traditions of the fair. Throughout my empirical chapters, modernity is addressed in line with its impact on fair space and subsequent changes in atmosphere and affect, across vision, taste, mobility, and sound.

However, at the fair, modernity is also made manifest in more 'traditional' forms of technology and popular culture – these elements can be said to mirror modernism. At this stage, I redefine modernity in line with its theoretical conceptions as a 'rationalisation of society (in the sense of technological "progress" as well as growing social awareness of the process of

change)’ (Misa, *et.al*, 2003: 2). Embodied in food, art, music, and technology of the fair (and thus, taste, vision, mobility, and sound), modernity has oft manifested itself through popular culture, at times also shaping the desires and demands of society. These reflections are further explored in subsequent sections of the thesis, (2.3.3. *Popular culture and enchantment*’, ‘4.2.2. *Visions of Art*’, ‘5.1. *Taste: Popular culture, class, and society*’, ‘5.2. *Haptic taste: sensory perceptions, recollections, and understandings*’, and ‘7.1.1. *The fairground soundscape*’), using particular fairground case studies to highlight modernity’s expressions in social representations of popular culture. This chapter now focuses attention on modernity as represented through technology.

Morley (2007) proposes that geographies of modernity are mirrored by evolutions in technology. More specifically, arguing that advancements in technology help to understand the impact of modernity on society, practically and socially. Modernity, he proposes, offers potentials for exploring change, with promises of the future symbolised by technological advancement. In the travelling fairground, technological innovation has long symbolised the virtues of modernism, with cultural influences shaping design and progress.

Circuses, sideshow exhibitions, and menageries, [etc.] of the 1800s showcased pleasures comparable to modern theatre or forms of musical entertainment (NFCA, 2020). However, with the introduction of the 1873 fairs act and a decrease in popularity of such attractions, Showpeople had to consider innovative alternatives.¹⁰ In the wake of the Industrial revolution, technology presented innovative and promising solutions. Modern technology was first introduced to the fair in 1860 when the steam-powered roundabout made its debut at the ‘Bolton New Year’s Fair’ (NFCA, 2020). At this time, steam power allowed Showmen the opportunity to provide a glimpse of the future for their fair-going patrons.

The fairground world was revitalised through the introduction of steam power, its modernisation offering novel experiences; technology ‘transformed the [fair] landscape into one of modernity and motion’ (NFCA, 2020). During the twentieth century, fairground technology continued to advance, showcasing re-designed rides and attractions. The Switchback (Fig. 2.7) is a particularly apt example of this technological transformation.

¹⁰ The Fairs Act of 1873 permitted landowners to contest their establishment and advocate for the closure of fairs. As a result, many fairs were removed from their original sites in town centres to marginal locations (NFCA, 2020).

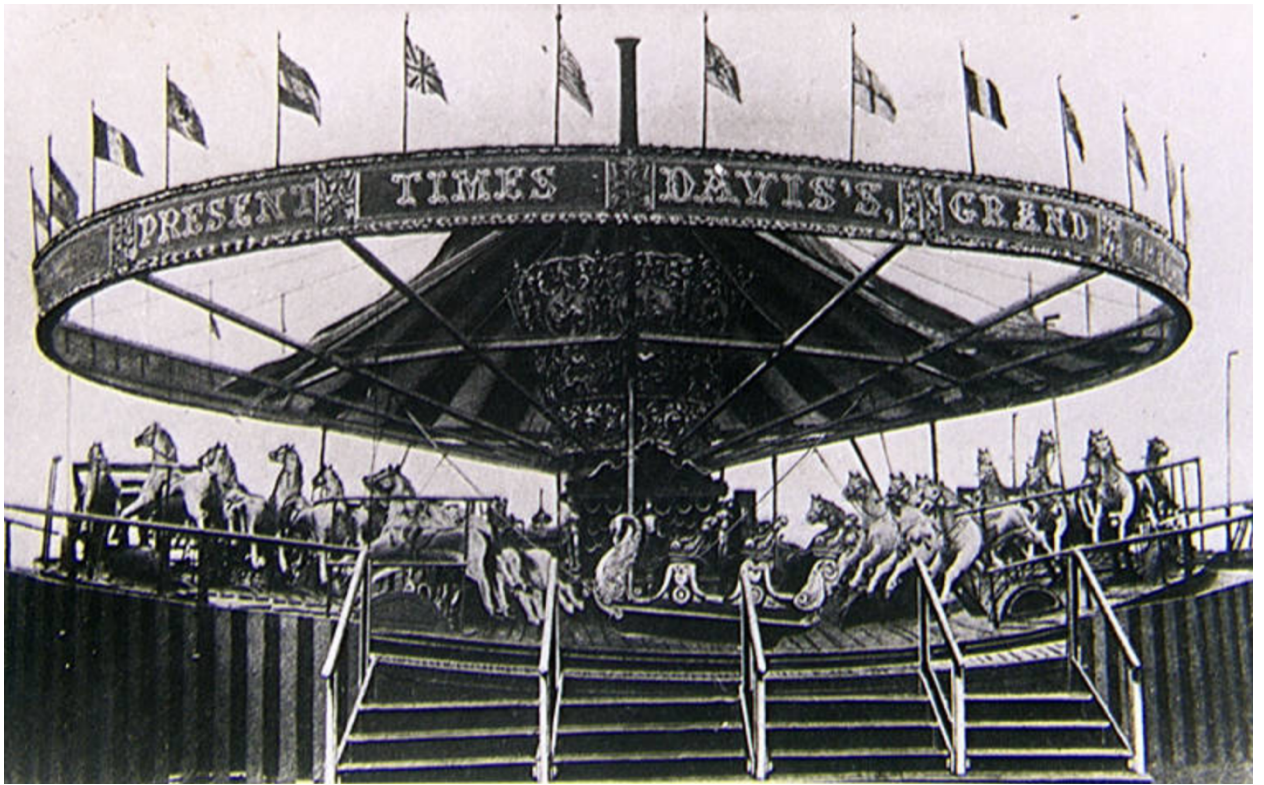


Fig. 2.7: W. David's Switchback Horses, 1900. R.A. Taylor. Reproduced with permission from the National Fairground and Circus Archive, University of Sheffield.

At its original conception, the Switchback represented an unparalleled form of entertainment and a giddy embodied experience. Adorned with gondolas, gallopers, or motor cars, the Switchback's appearance was frequently re-designed to reflect tastes in popular culture. Steam powered engines were replaced with motor engines, while the rides' structure was updated in line with newfound safety regulations (Dingles Fairground Heritage Centre (DFHC), 2020). However, by the 1920s the allure of the Switchback had faded, and Showmen yet again faced the challenge of creating a new attraction. The modern Waltzer was born with revolving carriages added for further entertainment and as a way to demonstrate the advanced capacities of the evolving technology. Today, the Waltzer remains one of the fairs' most popular attractions.

These changes in technology represented a new way to satisfy the desires of society for speed and excitement, while also providing teasing glimpses of the future (see also: Shields, 1991). As such, it is important to engage with modernity as experienced through technological progression, not only to understand its everyday capabilities, but also to consider how these technologies have impacted the fairground's visions, tastes, mobilities, and sounds.

Moving towards its theoretical underpinnings, Shields (1991) calls for a renewed perspective on modernity, arguing that it is crucial to the understanding (and constitution) of space, which in turn is central to the way in which social problems and issues are understood. Subsequently, understanding modernity becomes integral to understanding society, an important element in the history of the travelling fair, particularly in relation to its technological advancements. Focusing on the seaside resort of Brighton as a carnivalesque space of liminality, Shields' (1991) figures modernity as a complex relationship between urbanisation and industrialisation, performed through engagements with site; a 'particular mental attitude that seeks rationality to understand the world we live in by finding order within and achieving domination over nature' (Withers, 1996, in: Gregory, *et.al*, 2011). Here, we can identify a correlation with Cresswell's (2006) theorisation of modernity as a right. As a space that engenders systems of pleasure enacted in 'dirty' weekends, modern-day Brighton, enables people to move freely through space. Consequently, parallels can be identified in modernities of the travelling fairground, where modernity allows for, and inspires, free movement in space. This element of free movement is a central aspect of experience and a significant factor in the development of atmosphere; as such, it is called upon in empirical Chapters 4-7 to engage with the fairs production of taste, vision, mobility, and sound through guises of technology.

Writing from the perspective of a historical-cultural geographer, MacDonald (2011) analyses modernity through the lens of time and space, using material sites to reconstruct the past. Highlighting wider academic concerns about modernity and cultural preservation, MacDonald (2011) challenges views that America's Corporal missile testing station has threatened Gaelic culture in the Scottish Hebrides. Since the late 1950s the Hebridean landscape has suffered the impacts of modernisation, wherein a Gaelic cultural landscape has become a 'theatre of military operations' (MacDonald, 2011: 309). Modernisation has had a detrimental effect on South Hebridean life and culture. Although an attempt has been made to salvage some of Scotland's Gaelic history through archaeological and environmental field excursions, modernisation has depleted much of what could have been preserved. Though critical of its impact in this landscape, MacDonald (2011) also asserts that modernity offers certain methods of preserving the past through its ability to mobilise social and cultural change. In this way, MacDonald's (2011) position provides ways to consider the challenges imposed between modernity and tradition in Scotland's travelling fairgrounds, particularly in relation to efforts of preservation and future concerns.

Modernity often inspires new social formations, banded together in shared interests of conservation; efforts similar to current movements of Showpeople. In turn, these actions preserve elements of culture otherwise forgotten. From a theoretical perspective, modernity has manifestations that run across the travelling fair and presents itself as an important concept through which to understand its physical, social, and cultural construction and progression over time.

2.2.4. Materiality, mobility, and modernity: thinking through the fairground

Materiality, mobility and modernity have created spaces of wonder, amusement and awe at the fair. Historically, and developed over time, fairgrounds illustrate an array of intricate designs and artistry that represent ‘a series of tensions between the watcher and the watched, the interior and the exterior’ (Wylie, 2009: 278). Reliant on its mechanisms, movements, and the individual experience, the fairground intertwines materiality, mobility, and modernity to generate a space of ‘otherness’. The writings discussed above, present a myriad of concepts that challenge traditional debates around materiality, modernity, and mobility, particularly introducing ideas and concepts integral to analysing the travelling fair’s geographies. Additionally, they invite broader application and discussion of fairground spaces as sites of transgression and carnival; themes further explored in relation to vision, taste, mobility, and sound in empirical Chapters 4-7. Since the cultural turn there have been increased attempts to generate more progressive and nuanced understandings of these terms: materiality has evolved to include acknowledgment of nonhuman objects as agentic, often challenging the relationship between materials and the body in place. Mobility has similarly been reconfigured to challenge ideas of a static place, paying particular attention to movement through and within space. Finally, modernity has been examined and polarised on two different spectrums: on one hand as a link to the progression of society, on the other as a threat to history. While authors of these specific views may not agree, the renewed approach to modernity has resulted in a broader understanding of its significance. Without doubt, geographies of materiality, mobility and modernity have undergone a shift in focus and approach. Throughout this thesis I use these ideas to explore the materialities, mobilities, and modernities of Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds, particularly in line with the geographies of taste, vision, mobility, and sound that come to life at the fair.

2.3. Nostalgia, enthusiasm, enchantment, affect, and atmosphere

In human geography overlaps with cognate subjects have created a more versatile body of knowledge, productive of a more progressive outward-looking attitude (Cresswell, 2010). Of particular note for this research project are engagements with nostalgia, enthusiasm, enchantment, affect, and atmosphere both as stand-alone *and* intertwined fields of study (Bonnett, 2016). Accordingly, this appraisal of recent conceptual shifts addresses five ways to think through present-day histories and futures of travelling fairgrounds in Scotland: ‘2.3.1. *Nostalgia*’ draws distinctions between restorative, reflective, and critical nostalgia, focusing on place-dependent identities and reconstructions of nostalgia as a productive form of community-building. In ‘2.3.2. *Enthusiasm*’, I scrutinise geographies of enthusiasm and materiality, and the forms of emotional affiliation they produce. Within ‘2.3.3. *Popular culture and enchantment*’ I engage with geographies of enchantment and popular culture rooted in, and routed through, place. In ‘2.3.4. *Affect and emotion*’ I discuss recent geographies of affect, paying specific attention to the affectiveness of landscape, geographies of the body, and ‘affects’ of being. ‘2.3.5. *Atmosphere*’ outlines geographies of atmosphere, drawing on relevant scholarship to define and position geographies of atmosphere in the fairground space. To conclude, this review analyses the ways in which nostalgias, enthusiasms, enchantments, affects, and atmospheres can be turned towards the fairground as a site of study.

2.3.1. Nostalgia

One of the notable features of the multi-disciplinary cultural turn was an effort to critically explore the expression of nostalgia as a sentiment and phenomena in contemporary society. New understandings of nostalgia as a narrative form for feelings of loss and pain emerged, figured as ‘a sentimental longing or wistful action for the past’ (Pearsall, 1998: 1266). Poststructuralist theory focused on the social roles of objects in memory-making; an approach acknowledging objects as important agents in social networks.

The material turn progressed a cultural analysis that suggested objects and materials are key agents in influencing memory and stimulating nostalgia (Bonnett, 2016). One central contribution of the material turn has been an effort to understand nostalgia as an aching for a bygone era rooted in present experience (see: Bonnett, 2016; Boym, 2001). Originally, nostalgia referred to a new condition that first made its presence felt in 17th century Europe: it ‘became epidemic in the wake of the French Revolution’ (Swislocki, 2009: 3) in ways that transformed the foundations of thought and society. For the purposes of this chapter, nostalgia is worthy of

further analysis, and is considered in three registers: 'restorative nostalgia', where views of past reflect a desire to recreate it, 'reflective nostalgia', which accepts the past as the past, solely savouring the emotion and affect that reflection upon it can create, and 'critical nostalgia' where nostalgia is refigured as a critical proponent in understanding the present and shaping the future.

2.3.1.1. Restorative nostalgia

In its simplest form, restorative nostalgia can be understood as a yearning to return to the past, sparked by loss. Duranti (2006) constructs restorative nostalgia around the idea of place-related memory, grounding his theory in the example of the 1939-40 New York World Fair. Although this event was established to offer fairgoers a glimpse of the future, its industrialisation sparked a sense of restorative nostalgia. During the war years, this fair may have enabled an escape from current events; however, many read the promise of a modern future as one which would not unfold for all, instead sparking a longing to return to the past and wish 'to reconstruct the lost home' (Legg, 2004: 100). In this context nostalgia can be configured as 'a mourning for the impossibility of mythical return, for the loss of an enchanted world' (Boym, 2001, in: Duranti, 2006: 665). This 'mass feeling' experienced across different social spaces, united geographical imaginations and the historical mind; the links between technology and memory creating a sense of time passing, thereby generating a restorative collective memory. As a response to this shared nostalgia, the 1940s world fair paid homage to America's past: 'the biggest new display of the second season was 'American Jubilee', which recounted American history through song and dance routines ... daring to look no further ahead than 1941' (*The New Yorker*, 1940, in: Duranti, 2006: 675). Consequently, the World Fair of 1939-40 represents a manifestation of restorative nostalgia; a nation-led longing for family, home, and past. As I explain in '7.2. *Voice: memories and embodied nostalgia of the fairground space*', shared feeling about Scotland's travelling fairgrounds can be considered comparatively to experiences of the American Jubilee, since restorative nostalgia often takes hold through technology; a sense of longing for a bygone era taking shape in experiences of modernity. Explicitly, this version of nostalgia attempts a 'trans-historical reconstruction of the lost ... national identity' (Pohl, 2009, in: Pordzik, 2009: 146); a 'defensive posture' against modernity, and the war it brought with it. Within this thesis restorative nostalgia is explored as a direct result of its atmospheric qualities, experienced variously across fairground spaces. In later discussions, these feelings of longing are showcased, issuing out of practice, variously incited through elements of vision, taste, mobility, and sound.

In a similar vein, Corbin (2002) establishes fairs as key sites of restorative nostalgia. Using fairground heritage villages as a case study she argues that these grassroots collections of historic buildings represent a longing for, and return to, history. These historic buildings situate restorative nostalgia in place, by returning to past periods through performance. Rural farm buildings (Fig. 2.8), a church, general store, and, post office, bring to life local memories at the Pitzer Heritage Village in North Carolina where performances of daily routine, as enacted throughout the 1800s, recreate local histories; therein, making visible restorative nostalgia.



Fig. 2.8: ‘Two rural buildings in the Arthur K. Pitzer Heritage Village on the North Carolina State Fairgrounds.’
Source: Corbin, 2002: 232.

In bringing these spaces to life, past atmospheres are merged with modern landscapes, thereby permitting history to be encountered in real time. This nostalgia is firmly rooted in the materiality of heritage, reconstructed ‘to develop links between past and present landscape’ (Corbin, 2002: 227), and involving the configuring of contemporary landscapes as past spaces. Desire for memorialisation establishes this heritage village as a commemorative site of restorative nostalgia, wherein material sparks place-memory, permitting an accurate recreation of space that generates a historical narrative (Legg, 2004). As demonstrated in later chapters,

the fair's materiality plays a significant role in fostering spaces of remembrance. As such, it is important to understand how similar constructions have engendered feelings of longing.

2.3.1.2 Reflective nostalgia

As an alternate formulation of nostalgia as popular feeling, Cashman (2006) offers 'reflective nostalgia' as an essential element of community-building. Using the example of sectarian division in Northern Ireland, Cashman (2006) reconfigures nostalgia as a reflective bridging between past and present, asserting that it is indeed critical to infer valuation of the present from memories of the past. Working to preserve historic artefacts, this material culture becomes the manifestation of modernity and past, uniting Catholics and Protestants in their pursuit of preservation. This nostalgia is central in the search for community. Enacted through practices of material preservation, collection enables communities in Northern Ireland to 'generate meaning in the present through selective visions of the past' (Cashman, 2002: 138). Here, restoring vintage tractors, and horse ploughing equipment, alongside 'metal furniture of the traditional open-hearth fireplace ... harrows, reapers, seed sowers, and potato diggers' (Cashman, 2006: 143) provides means to reflect about collective Irish culture. Although collected on an individual basis, these items are celebrated and brought together in traditional craft fairs, rallies, competitions, and historical society meetings; these communal gatherings allow reflective nostalgia to emerge, becoming a vital aspect of re-constructing past Irish heritage in modernity.

Cashman's (2006) reflections align with Bonnett's (2016) consideration that preservation conveys reflection, transposing ideas of loss in cultural identity into modernised space to re-construct notions of community. Central here is the display of material culture as means of preservation, in effect challenging memories to remain in the present. This sense of reflective nostalgia can be seen to carry over into processes of restoration in the fairground scene. Specifically, in '5.1.1. *Enthusiasts: a tale of specialist taste*' I consider specialist communities of enthusiasm who invest time and energy in the fairground. Additionally, this element of reflective nostalgia is a key characteristic in the experiences of fair-going publics, reflected in their emotional and sensory experiences; this is examined in '7.2. *Voice: memories and embodied nostalgia of the fairground space*' as a way to understand how vision, taste, mobility, and sound come together to create atmospheres of nostalgia.

Kitson and McHugh (2015) advocate for a re-engagement with nostalgia as a reflective future-oriented approach; a rethinking of nostalgia from the perspective of things: 'human-

nonhuman, animate-inanimate’ (Kitson and McHugh, 2015: 487), by focusing on the affective capacities of architecture. In considering performed historic preservation of Phoenix’s residential Coronado District, Kitson and McHugh (2015) claim that ‘cohabitation of dilapidated turn-of-the-century farmhouses, rejuvenated bungalows, revived Spanish revivals, Tudor rehabs, and scattered newly constructed modern, minimalist homes’ (Kitson and McHugh, 2015: 492) set the stage for nostalgia. By incorporating these buildings into everyday spaces and practices of dwelling, they evoke a sense of nostalgia. In instances such as this, nostalgia connects bodies, objects, and places. Living in these homes ‘captivates and assembles disparate and fleeting materialities’ (Kitson and McHugh, 2015: 491). In Coronado, ‘remembering and reimagining’ are cultivated through this practice, though it is important to note that they continue to acknowledge nostalgia as a feeling of *distance*. ‘Nostalgia is memory of the senses ... [s spatial] temporality of loss, a distance between *now* and *then* that cannot be bridged’ (Serematakis, 1994, in: Kitson and McHugh, 2015: 490). Here, nostalgia is the relationship between manifestations of distance and closeness with lost memories of the past and sensory perceptions of the present creating nostalgia in place. At the fair, performance and sensory engagement are essential elements in generating reflective nostalgia. As such, nostalgia can be encountered in distinct registers. As a factor of experience, nostalgia at the fairground takes shape in a variety of forms. Boym (2001), Bonnett (2016), and Kitson and McHugh (2015) challenge traditional notions of nostalgia to generate new understandings of this sentiment. Reflective and restorative nostalgia are concepts that can be shaped for and attached to, the complex socialites of the fairground space, as sensory and embodied experiences mean that the nostalgic qualities of the fair are dependent on emerging relationships between place, material, and body.

2.3.1.3 Critical Nostalgia

More recent engagements with nostalgia have called for efforts to readdress and reconceptualise its potentials and applications as a variable concept. Particular focus has been paid to exploring the ways in which nostalgia can be mobilised to offer more critical perspectives, emphasising the need for ongoing conversation between restorative and reflective perceptions. Pickering and Keightley (2006) propose that viewing reflective and restorative nostalgia only as binary opposites is detrimental to the concept’s value. Rather, they suggest that nostalgia needs to be reframed as an ongoing conversation between memorialisation and modernity:

‘modernity has changed the very conception of loss along with the compensations offered for it ... it follows that this is the case with nostalgia, since nostalgia is the composite feeling of loss, lack and longing’

(Pickering and Keightley, 2006: 921).

To this end, they propose that nostalgia must be reconfigured as a continuous symbiosis between the desire to return to the past and the need to reflect on it for future considerations.

This position is shared by Boym (2001) who criticises traditional framings of nostalgia for their inability to recognise authentic historical narratives: ‘nostalgia too easily mates with banality ... in order to give a specific form of homesickness’ (Boym, 2001: 339). In moving away from restorative nostalgia, Boym (2001) encourages a more reflective approach rooted in ongoing conversations between past and present. More specifically, Boym (2001) recognises the relationship between nostalgia and the desire for re-enchantment, criticising their interlinked dependency. This approach reframes nostalgia as a critical element, capable of generating new spaces for understanding the value of modernity. Arguably, reframing of nostalgia can best be understood through Grainge’s (2002) paired conceptualisation – nostalgia as affect (mood) and nostalgia as practice (mode). Here, we can begin to understand how restorations of the past might be experienced as affect, while reflections might take shape as performance or practice. This reframing of nostalgia as critical symbiosis is fundamental to understanding the fairground landscape. Within this space, ongoing conversations between enthusiasts, Showpeople, and fairgoers emphasise the role of nostalgia in preserving history and keeping the fair alive in the future. Particular memories and oral histories have formed an attachment to particular instances and places, framed by conversations between the past, present, and future. Fairgrounds can create and be created by nostalgia as they are rooted in [practices of] memorialisation. As later chapters will illustrate in greater detail, Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds evoke restorative, reflective, and critical nostalgia, embedded in a future-oriented approach and experienced through taste, vision, mobility, and sound, by positing nostalgia as mobile and dynamic, shaping encounter, and creating space.

2.3.2 Enthusiasm

As an avenue for academic concern and inquiry, geographies of enthusiasm emerged from the varied assembly of approaches recognised as more-than-representational geography; a wide-ranging agenda generating an understanding of enthusiasm as a catalyst for greater social and cultural movements, rooted in emotion and affect. Within the specific context of this chapter, enthusiasm is conceptualised as a profound interest and gratification in a special-interest subject,

or activity (Geoghegan, 2013). By association, the material turn has channelled enthusiasm as relatable sensation through the analytic approach referred to as actor-network-theory; this coupling has geographical understandings of social influence and movement. Recent work on enthusiasm engages with the capacity to understand mobilities of culture; this revitalised approach has particularly influenced understandings of social organisation and material productivity. Hence, this chapter considers how geographers' work on understanding enthusiasm is rooted in experiences and practices of everyday culture and celebration and shows its relevance in my efforts to critically interpret 'meaning-making' in the spaces of Scotland's fairgrounds.

Founding academic understandings of enthusiasm shaped it as a less than rational, psychological symptom of social function. In the 17th century, the term was used to describe forms of religious madness amongst the ancient Greeks. Enthusiasm was thus figured and categorised as a lack of reality and an absence of rational thinking (Mee, 2005). Geographically, the concept of enthusiasm has enjoyed more recent attention, and today is encountered as a concept integral to understanding social organisations. In its simplest form, enthusiasm is expressed engagement carried out by a recognised grouping of enthusiasts sharing the same interest. The ways in which they communicate and perform their interest, differs greatly between individuals. While an extended consideration of fairground enthusiasm and enthusiasts appears in '3.1.2. *Enthusiasts*' and later '5.1.1. *Enthusiasts: a tale of specialist taste*', more generally, fairground enthusiasm is a social phenomenon that can take place online, on phones, at conventions, in conversations, through practice, and in varying spaces; at its core, enthusiasm generates an anatomy of mobile and emotional attachment to cultural objects.

Cultural geographer, Geoghegan (2013: 40) configures the concept of enthusiasm as the means to define 'specialisation of interest, social organisation and material productivity'. The UK Telecommunications Heritage Group (UKTHG) represents an emotional relationship that extends how pastimes are expressed and understood. Concentrating on the way UKTHG members communicate and share their passions and interests, the idea of enthusiasm is paired with a form of emotional or affectual attachment. Consequently, Geoghegan (2013: 24) reconfigures enthusiasm as 'a complex of affects, related to, emotion or feeling', wherein, the UKTHG establishes emotion as an essential element in the way enthusiasm is shaped. These enthusiasts come from a range of backgrounds, such as pensioners from the communications industry, as well as former civil servants with a deep-rooted interest in the history of telephones, and other communication materials. While some are actively involved in researching

communications, others own their own memorabilia or are keen restorers; but whatever role, their profound interests unite them. This is similar to fairground enthusiasts who come from a range of backgrounds, and so can be used to understand how their shared interests in fair culture unite them.

Emotion shapes relationships between places, people, and objects, while enthusiasm also produces the spaces, and boundaries, that enable individuals to come together and perform their interests (Geoghegan, 2013). As these enthusiasts are scattered geographically across the world, much of their communication takes place via online communication platforms, including the dedicated UKTHG website and discussion forum. It is an enthusiasm celebrated across the world, geographically limitless. Geoghegan's (2013) analysis further highlights an overlap with nostalgia, in that emotional memories of history shape the way space is socially encountered. These ideas and observations invite wider application. In the spaces of the travelling fair, enthusiasm carries across fair-going publics, specialist fairground enthusiasts and Showpeople: 'enthusiasm is conceptualised here as an emotional affiliation that 'influences passions, performances and actions in space' (Geoghegan, 2013: 40), producing attachment, shared knowledge, and relationships between enthusiasts.

In a similar vein, historical-cultural geographers Craggs, *et.al* (2016: 2) conceptualise enthusiasm 'as an emotional affiliation that influences ... passions, performances and actions in space; [thus] enthusiasm ... has the capacity to move people into results and change'. Specifically, Craggs, *et.al* (2016) explore enthusiasm through practices of architectural conservation. Investigating a range of social and educational activities carried out by 'The Twentieth Century Society, a UK-based architectural conservation group' (Craggs, *et.al* (2016:879), permits the authors to encounter enthusiasm in two distinct registers: as 'a motivator for care and action' (Craggs, *et.al*, 2016: 1) [in landscape conservation], and, as opposition to rational practice. In this context, participating enthusiasts become agents in shaping space, emotionally, socially, and physically. Engaging with different forms of building conservation, these encounters bring together architects and amateurs in a space of preservation. This group aims to highlight the ability of such buildings to engender shared emotion through experience. Their practices of engagement connect local history, tourism, and architectural practice, and communicate the importance of preservation. Turning towards the fairground's spaces of enthusiasm, forms of communication take place across multiple platforms, among different structural elements, including rides, kiosks, joints, and hooplas. Notably, Craggs *et.al* (2016) emphasise the need to understand emotion as a central element of enthusiasm, arguing that these

experiences traverse spatial and social boundaries. In this vein enthusiasts become agents capable of shaping space through emotion, and thus can be used to consider practices of enthusiasm at the fair. This is a particularly important consideration within ‘*Chapter 5. Taste and Taste: cultures and flavours of the fair*’, where geographies of taste are encountered, understood both as shapers of atmosphere and celebrated through forms of enthusiasm.

DeLyser and Greenstein (2015) offer further means to consider affiliations with materials exemplified through personally practiced enthusiasm. Written from an autoethnographic perspective, they suggest that enthusiasm is intrinsically tied to the object or subject of interest. Tracing the restoration of a 1941 Tatra T-87 (Fig. 2.9), DeLyser and Greenstein (2015: 257) demonstrate the complex geographies of materials, and the ‘potential of enthusiasms ... to transform the lives of people and things’. So much so, that endeavours to restore a single vehicle can entail vast networks of global communication; similarly, in the material context of the fair, enthusiasm is celebrated globally. Enthusiasts are united across the world through varying online mediums, and processes of production, while developing their interests and carrying out their practice.



Fig. 2.9: ‘Tatra T87 with companion satellite dish, soon after the eBay auction.’ Source: DeLyser and Greenstein, 2015: 256.

For DeLyser and Greenstein (2015), the sense of enthusiasm connects: mechanics from California, collectors in the Czech Republic, and, even German memorabilia from the Berlin Wall. Their interest stems from the search to create an ‘international and electronic web of autoenthusiasm, embedded in systems of labour and exchange’ (DeLyser and Greenstein, 2015: 256). Specific restoration efforts ‘involves dozens if not hundreds of individual interpersonal interactions, often with other enthusiasts’ (DeLyser and Greenstein, 2015: 262). These practices forge emotional connections, geographically distant from one another, rooted in restoring a classic automobile. Their interactions take place across multiple mediums, including online auction sites, email, telephone calls, and in-person, resulting in a shared enthusiasm. Specifically, this enthusiasm is generated by, and thus represents, a mobile, material passion cultivated through shared emotion. This work presents notions through which to consider the enthusiasm of fair-going publics and enthusiasts of the fairground space, particularly in relation to nostalgia, materiality, and mobility. More specifically, it allows me to engage with processes of enthusiasm as different representations/ formulations of popular culture; ideas explored in more detail throughout ‘5.1. *Taste: popular culture, class, and society*’.

With enthusiasm central to purpose and no longer viewed as purely a psychological symptom of social function, geographers have re-conceptualised such feelings as a spatialised dimension of social organisation and material productivity. It is a geography enacted and performed across varying spaces through a multitude of platforms; an outcome of modern entertainment, shaping emotional and affectual engagements with material. When considered from the perspective of the fair, this newfound understanding of enthusiasm provides means to understand more clearly practices of enthusiasm and emerging nostalgias in this complex space.

2.3.3. Popular culture and enchantment

Geography’s cultural turn also sparked a re-evaluation of how to place and value popular culture in academic research, including work that places this as a driving force of modernity. Accordingly, it is important to consider how popular culture encompasses a range of embodied practices that connect places, spaces, materials *and* people. As popular culture is predominantly shaped by collective fascination, this review couples it with enchantment: ‘a feeling or delight, or the state of being under incantation’ (Collingwood, 2005, in: Boucher *et.al*, 2005: 2). Specifically, enchantment is ‘used to express delight, wonder, or that which cannot be simply explained’ (Woodyer and Geoghegan, 2014: 195). At the fair, popular culture serves to enchant

its audience, thus, this chapter engages with work across the geographic field to communicate these concepts.

To define popular culture is complex, and I contend that in order to do so we must first attempt to understand what constitutes culture. As a phenomenon, culture encompasses a variety of elements, of which the most relevant for this chapter include: people's traditions, ideas, and actions, as well as the resulting manifestations of art and knowledge. When working with the latter definition, we can differentiate between the labels of high culture (with an impact on the life of the mind) and low culture (purposely enacted for entertainment and recreation). I argue, that popular culture, manifests as an amalgam between the two. A commodity culture rooted in consumption that both offers means of recreation, but also impacts profoundly on lived experiences (Danesi, 2018). Resultingly, popular culture is often a driving force behind social, economic, and political change in society.

Parker (2011) understands popular culture as an integral factor in shaping contemporary society across spaces and places, therein shaping social formations, cultural understandings, and material responses. Drawing on the works of Storey (2006), Parker (2011: 150) defines 'popular culture [as] simply culture which is widely favoured'. However, more complexly, the term popular culture encompasses common aesthetic or life practices that are consumed *en-masse*. It is woven into everyday practices of mobility and materiality and contributes to the shaping of social spaces through symbolic cultural production. At the travelling fair, popular culture is mediated by the choice of individual Showmen, who determine what to design and display; thus, popular culture is assembled by individual agents. Parker's (2011) writings argue for a renewed understanding of popular culture as 'unauthorised culture': culture produced outside the realms of social acceptance and the social norm. Here, a parallel can be drawn to Bakhtin's (1968) repeated use of the 'unofficial and unauthorised' to describe the carnivalesque. In fairground spaces, carnivalesque practices merge peripheral and borderline attitudes with mainstream popular culture, thus threatening configurations of mainstream society.

Similarly, Burgess and Gold (1985) define popular culture as a concern with everyday ideologies, practices, and movements. Specifically, they maintain that popular culture is a reflection of culture celebrated *en-masse*. The very nature of this concept permits evading traditional class boundaries, uniting individuals in shared interests. Pointedly, they propose that popular culture is defined by consent; namely, that popular culture is shaped by approved consumption. This configuration is shared by Storey (2006) who configures popular culture as

culture ‘of the people’: a movement capable of engendering positive or negative associations across society. In the space of the fair, these definitions take shape as a combined force.

However, Danesi (2018) maintains that although popular culture is culture that appeals to the masses, in order to be deemed ‘popular’ it must test society’s traditional morals while *also* doing the work of entertainment. Here, I argue that perhaps there is room for overlap with Bakhtin’s carnivalesque – a trope designed to challenge morality while encouraging uninhibited social interaction. As such, for the purposes of this thesis, the term popular culture is understood as elements of society and culture that are consumed *en-masse*. More specifically, in the fairground space, popular culture can be configured in line with Parker’s (2011) conceptualisations, as ‘unauthorised culture’ – practices, ideologies, artistry, or movements not accepted or reflective of mainstream understandings. Alongside these interpretations, there is also the element of romanticism present. These representations of popular culture are often rooted in nostalgia and enchantment, employed to engender memories and experiences that people will remember long after leaving that space. Here, a caveat is necessary: although romanticisation and nostalgia are often evoked with a negative dimension, within this thesis, they are approached in a critical sense, as means of analysis. The thesis also seeks to develop understandings of popular culture as reflections of modernity, proposing that in the fairground space they are interlinked, working together to harness spaces of atmosphere and entertainment. Consequently, the theories considered above introduce new ways of encountering popular culture, as well as carnivalistic elements of fair spaces more generally.

Hoffman (2006) positions popular culture and enchantment as inter-linked. Focusing on the nineteenth and early-twentieth century travel of Pierre Spitzner’s ‘*Grand Musée Anatomique et Ethnologique*’ in Europe, Hoffman (2006) argues that recumbent beauties, young women of beauty dressed to emulate royalty, were a product of popular culture. These displays combined popular culture and public entertainment; a fairground performance designed to transform its audience: ‘it turned idle flaneurs into more serious gazers wondering if the somewhat vague promises of the entrance were about to be fulfilled’ (Hoffman, 2006: 140-141). These ‘Sleeping Beauties’ provided links between popular fairy-tale and ‘reality’: a way to draw customers into the fantasy world of the fair and for people to be enchanted by the fairground. In this context, Hoffman (2006) maintains that enchantment and popular culture both influenced and were influenced by one another; a relationship still very much integral to the production of atmosphere at Scotland’s travelling fairs.

An alternate view of enchantment come from Woodyer and Geoghegan (2014) who define it as an attachment to the world, and integral to understanding the affective properties of space by exploring how it conveys meaning to, or in, place. Materials often generate enchantment through engagements with physical objects in place, thereby fashioning expressions ‘in, of, and with the world’ (Woodyer and Geoghegan, 2014: 219). Understanding enchantment requires experience of place viscerally, emotionally, and affectively. They derive their arguments from Bennett (2010: 12), who theorised enchantment as a state of wonder ‘imminent to the agency of matter and vital materiality’. The overlap rests in the belief that enchantment shapes atmosphere, and therefore space: ‘in moments of enchantment ... we simultaneously encounter ‘pleasurable feelings of being charmed’ (caught up, transfixed) ... a momentary glimpse of the vital materiality with which we are already entangled’ (Bennett, 2010, in: Kitson and McHugh, 2015: 490). In this vein, theories of enchantment lend themselves to understanding the complex enthusiasms and enchantments at work in Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds working across space and time.

What unites theoretical concepts of popular culture and enchantment is their capacity to alter the way materials and places are encountered and experienced. In the fairground, these concepts exist as singular and combined entities; each one shaping the way the fair space is constructed *and* experienced. As a combined force, enthusiasm and popular culture shape experience, bridging gaps between the human and non-human, nature and machine. Thus, the concepts of enchantment and popular culture are integral to interrogating developments of taste, vision, mobility, and sound at the fair.

2.3.4. Affect and emotion

Defined as ‘the trans-personal capacity a body has, to be affected (emotionally, viscerally, psychologically)’ (Anderson, 2006: 735), affect has emerged as a distinct idea in poststructuralist thought and writing, by cultural geographers and researchers in cognate disciplines. The emergence of affect as an aesthetic, cognitive, and experiential concept has challenged and extended perspectives on the lived body, encompassing the presence and push of non-human agency (Anderson, 2006). Among cultural and social geographers, debate has occurred about the status, and distinctiveness of emotion, and, affect, reflected in efforts to identify separate and intertwining fields of study (see also: Anderson and Harrison, 2010; Gregory and Seigworth, 2010; Pile, 2010; Thrift, 2007). Pile (2010) determines emotions and

affects as separate, distinguishable entities: felt emotion as nameable feelings, affect as a force beyond recognition. Specifically, affects emerge through social relations with space and place, extending beyond bodily experience. Contrarily, in drawing on geographic engagements with emotion, Pile (2010: 10) shapes emotions as feelings between bodies and between spaces: both are fluid, but ‘emotions move, while affects circulate’. Consequently, for the purposes of this review, affect is distinguished from emotion; emotions are placed in relation to the body and landscape, while affect can be understood as an intuition, instinct, or feeling derived from experience and knowledge, both felt in, and taking expression through the body.

Davidson and Milligan (2004: 523) construct the ‘body [as] the site of emotional experience and expression’. In a similar effort to Pile (2010), they engage with existing geographic forays into emotion, observing that while emotion is confined to the body, interaction with landscape generates site-related memory. These emotions alter conceptions of the world, affecting our senses of time and space. Emotions, then, become the ‘connective tissue that links experiential geographies of the human psyche and physique within broader social interactions and experiences’ (Davidson and Milligan, 2004: 523). Thus, the body becomes a site of sense-memory through which emotions are expressed and experienced. In the specific situation of the fairground, the body is the primary and essential conduit for emotional experience and expression, shaping the way fairgoers experience site.

This conceptualisation is supported by Wylie (2009) who shapes emotion through a phenomenological approach to space, place, and landscape. Here, experiences of loss and absence allow him to propose that landscape, expression, and material culture reconfigure emotion in place. The memorial benches on Mullion Cove generating phenomenological understandings of the body through emotion. Thus, the body begins to represent the tensions of place ‘between the watcher and watched, interior and exterior, the invisible and the visible’ (Wylie, 2009: 278). In this place, landscape becomes the physical manifestation of emotion, with these phenomenological properties enabling memorial recollections to take hold. Emotion, meanwhile, becomes a matter of immersion: ‘a conduit through which claims concerning distinctions of image in reality, mind and body, subject and object are disputed and unrefuted’ (Wylie, 2009: 282). Wylie’s (2009) constructions of landscape and memory reconfigure affect as a visceral engagement, rooted in experiences of place and recollections of memory, and can be used to encounter emotional experiences of atmosphere at the fair. More specifically, the concept of affect is explored through engagements with vision, taste, mobility, and sound, using particular reflections and experiences as a way to re-tell affect. Throughout my empirical

chapters, affect plays a central role, often explored as a consequence of atmosphere, visualised and exemplified through personal exploration and the voices of my participants.

In a move away from emotion, ‘affect is not localisable as personal experience or expression’ (Pile, 2010: 9); rather, affect emerges in interactions between body and space. Thus, affect can be described as a ‘trans-personal force’ structuring our ways of being in the world, often in unacknowledged ways. Affect exists both within and between bodies, a concept further developed by Thrift (2004: 88) who configures affect as ‘a sense of *push* in the world’. This relationship between body and place generates affects that shape encounters with space; the affective properties of bodily experience, therefore, become dependent on interactions between body and place.

Davidson *et.al*, (2011: 7) go one step further to place affect as nostalgia, desire, and hope. Rather than seeing place as created through meaning, they ‘foreground the interaction of humans with material objects’, suggesting that convergence between place and affect ‘results in the process of interacting with the material world’. In focusing on the city of Edmonton as a reflection of cultural nostalgia, they argue that affect fuses the body with nostalgia reflecting memories, emotions, and experiences of the everyday in site. As a place that celebrates its past and incorporates its history into its future, they construct Edmonton as an influential space, affecting its residents through historic celebrations and remembrances, thereby shaping affect as generating memories and nostalgia. When thinking about the fair space, emotion and affect shape memories, often experienced as a result of atmosphere. As such, Davidson *et.al* (2011) offer a means to consider the relationship between affect and memory, experienced as vision, taste, mobility, and sound.

Writing from a technological perspective, Edensor (2017) provides means to consider the affectual capabilities of material technology at the fair. Focusing on changing technologies and capacities of light as a way to encounter and understand affect, he argues that changing lights spatialise memory and so shape how we experience site. In the example of Durham Cathedral, Edensor (2011: 55) proposes that electric light often creates ‘defamiliarization, uncertainty, and fascination’; this corporeal engagement with light re-shapes space. Here, light has the ability to transgress boundaries, and connect spaces; it can re-enchant places. This is a central aspect of the travelling fair where lights are used to transform and enchant everyday spaces. Drawing on the use of light to re-enchant buildings by showcasing the texture of stone, Edensor (2011) argues that this re-enchantment creates a sense of place. More specifically, light and illumination, create affectual atmospheres; these ideas are central to the empirical chapters

of this thesis and are explored in further detail in '4.2. *Sight: illusions and visions of the fairground*'.

Bissell (2010) similarly offers insights into the relationship between affect and technology, exploring how various affective atmospheres are assembled in a train carriage. Focusing on affective mobilities, Bissell (2010: 272) draws on Conradson and Latham (2007) to configure affect as: 'the energetic outcome of encounters between bodies in particular places'. Specifically, he employs the concept of being-with to construct affect as an integral component in shaping traveller experience. Modern technology – mobile phones, tablets, and laptops - has transformed communication and interaction 'on the move'. Technology has generated an environment where 'affect emerges as a real relation between bodies, objects, and technologies' (Bissell, 2010: 272), that take hold intermittently. These affectual atmospheres facilitate a range of interactions and practices that are related to technology and the 'scale, frequency, and spontaneity through which such discursive (and often overly productivist) socialites can take place' (Bissell, 2010: 284). These affective atmospheres that amalgamate in the train carriage, shape passenger experience by inciting specific actions and reactions. However, these atmospheres and affects are 'not the outcome of conversational practices, rather they emerge as complex interplay of technologies, matters, and bodies' (Bissell, 2010: 284). As such, Bissell's (2010) observations and writing offer resources through which to think about the technologies of the fairground and their role in producing affective atmospheres. These ideas are further explored throughout my empirical chapters using vision, taste, mobility, and sound as conduits through which to re-tell geographies of affect at the fair.

Approaching affect from the perspective of material, Walker (2018) suggests that affect and emotion are symbiotic. Rooted in the atmosphere of the travelling fairgrounds across the British Isles, Walker asserts 'that there is a thorough entangling of emotion and affect, an entangling that inheres in Gernot Böhme's notion of atmosphere' (Edensor, 2012, in: Walker, 2018: 28). Reconstructing the fair space, these affective atmospheres are fashioned between objects, people, and spaces (Böhme, 1993). In focusing on the '*Stoffwechsel* – the translation or metamorphosis of decorative effects from one material into another' (Walker, 2018: 66), fairground materials are afforded an aesthetic power capable of fashioning affective experiences for the fairgoer. Changing fairground materials shape atmosphere, wherein bodies, technologies, materials, and objects converge. Fairground atmosphere and affect are intuitive: 'they are both result and cause of the crush of the crowd, thunderous noise, the myriad of smells and tastes, direct or vicarious kinetic experience of mechanised rides' (Walker, 2018: 26). In line with the

scope of this thesis, Walker (2018) shapes affect as dependent on the movement of material; a product of different affects and atmospheres converging.

2.3.5 Atmosphere

A central concept surfacing variously in this thesis, and therefore an element worthy of its own dedicated section, is ‘atmosphere’. Akin to the emergence of affect as a distinct element in poststructuralist writing, atmosphere and its processes of social emergence have been the source of much debate in cultural geography and related fields. The emergence of atmosphere as ‘neither an object, nor a subject; neither passive nor neutral, but rather ... as silent interventions into behavioural and experiential practices and interpretations’ (Bille, *et.al*, 2012) has knock-on effects for theorisations of materiality, affect, and human experience. Cultural and social geographers have deliberated on its distinctiveness as a concept, particularly with regard to emergent theories around ‘affective atmospheres’ (see: Anderson, 2009; Böhme, 2010; McCormack, 2014; Edensor and Sumartojo, 2015; and Bille and Simonsen, 2019). Considerable attention has also been afforded to exploring atmospheric qualities of light as a way to understand its potentials and emergent forms (see: Böhme, 2010; Edensor, 2015c; and, Sumartojo, *et.al*, 2019). Additional reflections include re-connecting with atmosphere as a product and producer of its surroundings (see: Böhme, 2002; Edensor and Sumartojo, 2015; and, Bille and Simonsen, 2019). Despite these diverse approaches, scholars do agree that atmosphere is experienced sensorily through the body, emerging out of interactions between subject and surrounding environment. At the travelling fair, atmosphere is both a fundamental element of success and a core component of being. Within the fair’s spaces, atmosphere becomes suffused with emotion and affect, generating distinctive kinds of amusement and enchantment. In an effort to establish how atmosphere is conceptualised both within academia and throughout the thesis, this section now turns to examine recent and emerging discussions of atmosphere in closer detail.

Anderson (2009) positions atmosphere as a co-constitutive element of affect, a perspective that has since been called into question by other scholars (see: Bille, *et.al*, 2012; Edensor and Sumartojo, 2015; and Bille, *et.al*, 2015). Drawing on theories of affect wherein distinctions between affect and emotion are separated as separate experiences, permits Anderson (2009) to align atmosphere with affect as a series of oppositions – termed ‘affective atmosphere’. By using Marx’s [literal and figurative] construction of atmosphere, he re-defines atmosphere as ‘singular affective qualities that emanate from but exceed the assembling of

bodies' (Anderson, 2009: 77). This interpretation of atmosphere positions it as a reflection of different affects – bodily sensations that take hold and emanate in experience between spaces, people, and objects. It is a manifestation of affective force from which 'subjective states and their attendant feelings and emotions *emerge*' (Anderson, 2009: 78). However, more recent engagements with atmosphere have sought to move away from this complex association between affect and atmosphere, instead defining it as 'a quality of environmental immersion that registers in and through sensing bodies whilst also remaining diffuse, in the air, ethereal' (McCormack, 2008, cited in Edensor and Sumartojo, 2015: 251). The central difference in latter criticisms presenting as an acknowledgement of atmospheres as distinct from people. As evidenced in writings by Bille, *et.al* (2012), Edensor and Sumartojo (2015), and Bille, *et.al* (2015), atmosphere is capable of suffusing all spaces. It is an ephemeral state and can be influenced and altered by even a minor shift in surrounding environmental elements, such as weather, light pollution, or noise. Beyond this, these scholars maintain that atmosphere is inherently connected to the cultural, political, historical, and social contexts 'in which they are consumed, interpreted and engaged with emotionally as well as affectively' (Edensor and Sumartojo, 2015: 252), as well as how these elements come together. More specifically, they suggest that atmosphere is 'produced' to engender particular effects in certain environments. As such, different places have their own atmosphere and resulting affect.

From the perspective of the fair, both Anderson's (2009) construction of 'affective atmosphere', as well as Bille, *et.al*'s (2012), Edensor and Sumartojo's (2015), and Bille, *et.al*'s (2015) analysis offer standpoints from which to deconstruct and reframe atmospheric qualities. As a product of Showmen's design, each fair has the potential for various atmospheres. Consequently, understanding how the manifold elements come together to shape fair spaces and their tastes, visions, mobilities, and sounds, is of paramount significance within these writings.

Turning towards more structured, or rather substantively exemplified, engagements with atmosphere, both McCormack (2014) and Edensor (2015c) offer perspectives from which to consider the relationship between atmosphere and its environment. McCormack's (2014) exploration of a balloon as a conduit for atmospheric impact is reflected in retellings of a particular experience, namely a delayed train journey to Glasgow. Narrated from a first-person perspective, these reflections relay the importance of the balloon as a catalyst for atmosphere and its many potentials (as a "Secret Santa" present, as a reminder of previous teachings, and later in the home during the countdown to Christmas). The same set of balloons fashioning distinct atmospheres in singular surroundings. These short tales serve to highlight the variability

of atmosphere in producing affective and emotional spaces. Similarly, Edensor's (2014) exploration of atmosphere as a product of "fan culture", highlights its malleable and somewhat 'fragile' nature. In exploring the effect of mood management in the Manchester City FC football stadium, Edensor (2014) aptly demonstrates the effects a controlled environment can have on its audience. More specifically, he cautions against the pitfalls of staging atmosphere, remarking that in cases such as Manchester City FC's attempt to 'stoke up' atmosphere by playing pre-recorded chants throughout the stadium, atmosphere can be punctured or lost. Thereby, demonstrating the need to successfully navigate 'immersion, engagement, distraction and attraction' (Edensor, 2015c: 333) when fashioning atmosphere. Both explorations of atmosphere highlight the complex nature of the term, demonstrating its manifold shapes and guises of production and effect/affect. From a fairground perspective, they offer me the means to consider how certain selections and processes of creation might affect a fair's capacity to enchant. These considerations are further explored throughout my empirical chapters, in line with productions and experiences of taste, vision, mobility, and sound.

Just as apposite for an atmospheric consideration of the fair are recent considerations of atmospheres and light emerging in cultural geography. Inspired by the capacity of light to blur boundaries between the material world and phenomenological affects, Böhme (2010), Edensor (2015), and Sumartojo, *et.al* (2019) position light as crucible, or catalyst, for atmosphere. As a caveat, each of these authors acknowledges that atmosphere can be influenced by factors other than light. This noted, atmosphere and light (and dark) have a tantalisingly dynamic relationship. In particular, light and dark have the capacity to re-enchant space, turning derelict landscapes into places of warmth and familiarity. One such example is the capacity of light festivals to celebrate and transform everyday space into sites of engagement by 'blend[ing] the representational and the non-representational, and meld[ing] sensation, affect and emotion' (Edensor, 2015c: 331). Interaction with surrounding elements, such as bodies of water, allows light to adapt and transform space, fashioning distinct expressions (Sumartojo, *et.al*, 2019). While not directly comparative, similar conclusions can be drawn at the fair, where lights often reflect off surfaces or meld together in experiences of mobility. Though, it is also worth considering Böhme's (2010) deliberations of light and atmosphere as a co-presence, or rather a representation of surrounding space. Here, we can identify connections to broader discussions of atmosphere, identifying light as a conduit of affect. Light shapes our perceptions of places in turn making them more amenable to the effects of atmosphere. At the fair, lights come in a variety of shapes, sizes, colours and strengths, each facet performing a unique function. As such,

it is necessary to examine the production of atmosphere at the travelling fair, not only as a product of creation, but more specifically in relation to light and dark; further discussions of which are located in section '4.2.1. *Artistic vision*'.

In an effort to conclude this discussion, I revisit my initial reflections – atmosphere, at the fair and beyond, is crucial in shaping experience. Not only does it inform how fairgoers perceive surroundings but more generally also shapes how we find and attribute meaning to our lives. Within the context of academia research and commentary, deliberations around atmosphere are ongoing, informed by new impacts and experiences. For the purposes of this thesis, atmosphere is explored across several empirical chapters, not only as a way to understand the fair, but also as a way to bring it to life.

As key concepts and practices relevant for a study of the fairground, nostalgia, enthusiasm, enchantment, popular culture, emotion, affect, and atmosphere have been established as important in interpreting these spaces of wonder, amusement, and awe. Changing fairground spaces have showcased an artistic array of design, influence, inventiveness and imagination. A landscape of fluidity, the fairground also establishes itself as the structural representation of nostalgia, enchantment, fantasy, and artistry. Although considered as individual themes, nostalgia, enthusiasm, atmosphere, and affect, do also overlap, entangle and interrelate; an idea further supported and explored throughout the empirical chapters to follow. Nostalgia takes shape in a variety of forms; reflective, restorative, and future oriented nostalgia fashion themselves uniquely into the fairground space, making their presence felt and known. Concurrently, enthusiasm and enchantment emerge as symbiotic, expressed and experienced variously by those who engage with this space. And, affective qualities of the fair produce sensory experiences and embodied manifestations of enchantment expressed in atmosphere. In this space, affect is generative of an emotive memorial culture. Accordingly, this understanding of atmosphere has particularly shaped the way in which memory and emotion are approached in this thesis. Variously, these geographies of nostalgia, enthusiasm, enchantment, affect, and atmosphere have been subject to changes in geographic thought. What has emerged are concepts more fluid and acquiescent; latterly, I call on these newfound ideas to explore Scotland's travelling fairgrounds through my own embodied experiences and the voices of my participants, explored through re-telling of taste, vision, mobility, and sound.

2.4. Geographical literature and the fair: theoretical conclusions

This review has offered an overview of the theoretical scholarship which has informed this thesis, and the literature surrounding Scotland's travelling communities.

'2.1. *Scotland's travelling groups and their geographies*' considered the contextual basis for this thesis, engaging with research about Scotland's travelling groups and associated communities, and attempted to distinguish Scottish Showpeople as their own identity-grouping. In addition to describing the customs and traditions of these travelling communities, this chapter further demonstrated how there are differing ways to explore and explain their mobility. Finally, in considering prevalent geographic discussions of mobility, this review addressed the relatively incomplete representation of this minority social group in geographical research, and in doing so identified a platform for this work.

'2.2. *Materiality, mobility, and modernity: geographies of the fairground and beyond*' presented the materialities, mobilities and modernities of the fair, framed by relevant geographical and sociological literature. This section proposed that mobility, materiality, and modernity are interrelated in the fairground space, with each of these elements contributing to the fair's overall atmosphere and environment. Distinctively, I argued that although there is broad engagement with these concepts, within geography there is limited overlap between these geographies and Scotland's travelling fairgrounds. Accordingly, this review was designed to outline how these larger theories can be used to interpret and understand these complex geographies across these spaces in Scotland.

Finally, '2.3. *Nostalgia, enthusiasm, enchantment, affect, and atmosphere: fairground geographies*' concluded with an attempt to define these terms in relation to fairgrounds and their constitutive elements. In particular, this review highlighted the integral role of affect in shaping fairground experiences. Various, I call on these geographies to explore Scotland's travelling fairgrounds in the empirical chapters that follow.

Throughout these chapters, literature has been introduced to support the creation of fairgrounds as atmospheric, evidenced in the fairs socialities, materialities, mobilities, and affects. Bringing together different elements of Hetherington's modern spaces of transgression, the travelling fair reflects spaces of transgression, enchantment, enthusiasm, and atmosphere across its foundational elements. These geographies are further explored throughout the thesis, using vision, taste, mobility, and sound as conduits for experience. This sets the scene for the empirical materials that follow and through which taste, vision, mobility, and sound will be mobilised.

Chapter 3. Non-representational fairground fieldwork: sources, sites, and methods of the fair

Contemporary method and practice in cultural geography has undergone considerable development over the last decade, wherein greater depth and theoretical enlightenment have generated a range of creative methodologies (see: Hawkins, 2019; Marston and DeLeeuw, 2013). Renewed interest in non-representational approaches, understood here as a concern with ‘performative ‘presentations’, ‘showings’ and ‘manifestations’ of everyday life’ (Thrift, 1997, in: Patchett, 2010: 67), has inspired the development of research methods ‘constituted through a range of embodied practices’ (Driver, 2000: 267). At their very core, travelling fairgrounds engender sensory interaction between the body and material. Subsequently, my methodological approach explored material and immaterial agencies, as well as auto-ethnographic involvements; elements included to analyse the role of embodied engagement in shaping fairground atmosphere and site.

What follows in this chapter is a detailed discussion of the sources, sites, and methods used throughout the pursuit of the historical, affectual, and material geographies of Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds. It also clarifies nuanced differences between Showpeople, enthusiasts, and fairgoers, explaining their various contributions towards this project. I provide details of each of my sites of exploration, before outlining the structure of my research design and methodology via a discussion of related literature, as well as introducing difficulties and concerns encountered during fieldwork practice. Fundamentally, this chapter presents an effort to explore ‘lived acts and inhabited places’ (Lorimer, 2006: 512) of the fair, drawing on a range of methodological approaches to ‘make-do’ with the materials that ‘exist on the ground’ (Lorimer, 2006:512).

3.1. Sources: the who’s-who of the travelling fair

My participants played a meaningful role in establishing and exploring the manifold ambiances and geographies of the fair. Showpeople, fairgoers, and fairground ‘enthusiasts’ presented their own perceptions, knowledges, and experiences; each of significant value to my work. For this reason, I provide a general overview of each of the groups I worked with; in all cases, participants have been provided with a pseudonym to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. Across all groups, my fieldwork included interviews, exploring the archive, and working with fairground materials.

3.1.1. Showpeople

First and foremost, my research entailed prolonged collaboration with Showpeople: a community of men and women who own, oversee, and maintain the rides and stalls at travelling fairs. As the ‘driving-force’ behind these ‘pleasure-lands’, the fair life is ‘in the blood ... this is what we do’ (Lawrence, 2014, in: Brocklehurst, 2014). Presently, close to 4000 Showpeople travel cross-country in Scotland on a semi-seasonal basis to sustain their trade.

Over the course of my fifteen-month fieldwork period I worked with 12 Showpeople, from a range of age groups, locations, and families; for a comprehensive overview of [anonymised] participant data, refer to Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 : Participants – Showpeople

Pseudonym	Participant category	Generation	Location	Type of Trade	Traveling?
Josephine	Showperson	5th generation	Glasgow, Scotland	Family rides and food stalls	No; travels only for social functions. Occupation outside of the fair, though is actively involved in its preservation.
Benjamin	Showperson	4th generation	Glasgow, Scotland	Rides and food stalls	Yes; across Scotland – no defined route.
Jeremy	Showperson	4th generation	Glasgow, Scotland	Family rides and hoopla stalls	No; occupation outside of the fair, though is actively involved in its preservation and outreach activities.
Tommy	Showperson	3rd generation	Glasgow, Scotland	Rides	Yes; in the Borders and around Glasgow.
Samuel	Showperson	5th generation	Glasgow, Scotland	Rides	Yes; West Coast, East Coast, and Glasgow-Edinburgh.
Jemima	Showperson	4th generation	Glasgow, Scotland	Previously rides	No; retired.
Peter	Showperson	4th generation	Glasgow, Scotland	Family hoopla stalls	No; retired.
Jack	Showperson	4th generation	Glasgow, Scotland	Previously stalls; now static museum	No; retired. Travels routinely to fairs across Scotland and is actively involved in outreach and preservation. Has created his own museum of fairground materials.
Louisa	Showperson	3rd generation	Aberdeen, Scotland	Food stalls	Yes; Borders, Glasgow, and Fife.
Albert	Showperson	4th generation	Aberdeen, Scotland	Food stalls	Yes; Glasgow, Fife, and Edinburgh.
Felix	Showperson	4th generation	Aberdeen, Scotland	Previously rides	No; retired.
Ginger	Showperson	5th generation	Glasgow, Scotland	Previously rides	No; retired.
Oberon	Showperson and Enthusiast	1st generation	Dundee, Scotland	Family rides	No; travels as an enthusiast, not as a showman. Travels across Scotland, as well as other parts of the UK.

Semi-structured interviews with Showpeople were carried out throughout my fieldwork period, further discussed in ‘3.3.5. *Interviews: exploring contemporary oral histories*’. In addition, I also spent time engaging with Showpeople in their ‘wintering’ storage sites to conduct object-examination. Showpeople were consulted as a primary source in this investigation; drawing on their sentiments and memories encouraged me to fashion a greater awareness of the creativity, ingenuity, and legislature behind this particular entertainment landscape. As a result, Showpeople made significant contributions to this thesis, revealing insight about their individual and collective heritage, the magic of the fairground tober, and the meaning and significance of this craft in their lives. Extended collaboration with Showpeople provided context (and authenticity), realised only in working directly with the creators of this entertainment landscape.

3.1.2. Enthusiasts

Fairground enthusiasts are individual members of the public who have an avid interest in fairground culture. They are a self-identified community of people united by an intense curiosity that extends beyond the fascinations of a casual fairgoer. Enthusiasts by name and nature, they explore the hidden mechanisms of the fair, choosing to work either independently or as part of a larger assembly, depending on their subject of interest. Such enthusiast groups have existed since the 1930s (Trowell, 2017b). Although all are interested in fairground culture, areas of specialist interest vary widely in scope and practice; while some partake in object restoration, others apply their efforts to researching fairground history. Most enthusiasts can trace their passions back to childhood, during which time the fair had a profound impact. Though infrequent, some pursue this pastime to the next level, entering the fairground trade as working Showpeople. Fair enthusiasm has a long history, deeply entrenched with that of the fair itself. It is a hobby, passion, and area of immense interest for all those involved. A way to step into the tober of the fair and bring some of its magic into everyday life.

Following World War II, the travelling fair trade underwent remarkable development, drawing on technological innovation and design to renew its popularity (Walker, 2018). Changes in social entertainment value prompted efforts by Showpeople to incorporate elements of popular culture into the fair environment: ‘adding the spice of rock’n’roll and decorating the rides with ... design and imagery of the time’ (NFCA, 2020). Modernity and all it brought with it, did not go unnoticed by the fairground enthusiasts who demonstrated appreciation for new rides and attractions. A shared love for the fairground inspired many individuals to identify fairs as unofficial meeting spaces; here, time was spent conversing over new technologies and sharing

photographs of the sites they had visited. However, it was not until 1940 that the enthusiast movement began to take official shape in the form of preservation (Trowell, 2017b). Many enthusiasts recognised the unique value of these fairs and were concerned by the rapid changes in artistry and design taking place to meet customer demand. Consequently, these individuals ‘withdrew engines, organs, and items from the fairground scene ... resurrecting them as preservation projects in the emerging rally scenes’ (NFCA, 2020). These efforts at preservation continue to take place today, with many enthusiasts restoring vintage fairground memorabilia to display at rallies and fairs across the UK.

Taking place in parallel to these movements, was also the establishment of various enthusiast groups, such as the ‘Friendship Circle of Showland Fans’ (FCSF) or ‘The British Fairground Society’ (BFS), who were formed as a way for enthusiasts to communicate cross-country (NFCA, 2020). During this period, some enthusiasts also acted as amateur photographers, utilising this as a way to capture the fairs tober (Trowell, 2017b).

Since the 1960s many more enthusiast factions have formed across the UK, including the Fairground Association of Great Britain (FAGB) (FAGB, 2020). The primary intention of these associations is to provide an outlet for enthusiasts to share their interest, support Showpeople, and endorse a more accepted view of fairs within society (FAGB, 2020). Alongside these larger organisations, there are also numerous specialist groups that communicate across social media platforms online. Increased development of fairground websites and online archives in the 1990s gave rise to increased platforms of communication. Operating by moderators, today, these spaces allow individuals with specific interests to share, download, and comment on content ranging from fairground food to steam engines, and ride development to sideshow history (Juliet, 12 December 2017). For many enthusiasts these events have enabled them to find kindred spirits. However, enthusiasm is also an individual passion and practice: ‘I am a member yes ... four specialist groups and an association, but I do my research alone. I always share what I find online with others ... [or] when I go to meetings or the fair ... but my restoration is a solitary endeavour’ (Interview excerpt. Andrew, 08 September 2017). Motivation and enthusiasm are a must, though the hallmark of the fairground enthusiast is immersion – indistinguishable from the average fairgoer, the enthusiast often blends in with their surroundings, inconspicuously wandering around the space. Many will spend the entire day weaving in and out of the rides circumventing the bustling thoroughfare to focus on their object or subject of interest.

Across the enthusiast field social dynamics are varied; several thrive on the nature of group interaction, while others prefer the individual nature that comes with such an immersive field. Generally, this will vary with subject of interest, of which are there a lot; and so too will their motivations. But across all enthusiasts, regardless of subject-specialism, there is an agreement of sorts: ‘to preserve what we can and always share what we learn ... it’s (enthusiasm) about history and the future – making sure that it’s remembered and respected’ (Interview excerpt. Romeo. 17 September 2017). It is this outlook that unites enthusiasts and Showpeople in their cause – an unspoken bond of solidarity and mutual respect.

For the purposes of this thesis, enthusiasts were not called upon as a collective community, but rather as individual sources of knowledge for varying fields. This is a conscious choice, taken to further my own understanding of the travelling fair and but also to ensure the focus of the thesis remained with the travelling fair. Fairground enthusiasts are a fascinating group of people, arguably worthy of study in their own right.

Throughout my fifteen months of fieldwork I interviewed 8 enthusiasts from across Scotland and parts of the UK; Table 3.2 provides a complete list of anonymised participant information.

Table 3.2: Participants – Enthusiasts

Pseudonym	Participant category	Location	Length of involvement in enthusiast community	Area of interest
Oberon	Showperson and Enthusiast	Dundee, Scotland	3 years	Ride history, manufacture, and technology.
Juliet	Enthusiast	Glasgow, Scotland	20 years	Ride photography and creating a photographic record of site.
Hamlet	Enthusiast	Aberdeen, Scotland	Officially, 7 years; unofficially, since childhood.	Artwork and site construction.
Romeo	Enthusiast	London, England	2 years	Scottish fairground history – specifically travel patterns and show culture.
Othello	Enthusiast	Nottingham, England	35 years	Site construction and deconstruction.
Viola	Enthusiast	Inverness, Scotland	40 years	Show culture and the materials of living wagons.
Andrew	Enthusiast	Kilmarnock, Scotland	12 years	Restoring vintage fairground items.
Antonio	Enthusiast	Kirkcaldy, Scotland	9 years	Restoring modern fairground objects.

As a caveat, participants from England frequented Scottish fairs and stated specialist interests in Scotland; hence, they were invited to participate. Preliminary contact was facilitated by participant Showpeople, who initiated communication with their known enthusiast acquaintances. Further participants were identified from interviews or via online recruitment; a detailed discussion of recruitment can be found in ‘3.3.1. Paperwork, recruitment, and false-starts’. Enthusiasts were consulted primarily for their knowledge on fairground history, but also for their working knowledge on fairground technology and understanding of show-culture. Throughout this project enthusiasts provided memories and subject-specialist knowledge from varied perspectives, informing greatly my own discernments of fair spaces in Scotland.

3.1.3. Fair-going publics

Finally, I worked with Fair-going publics: individuals who attend the fairs, sporadically, regularly, and/or annually. Those who come to the fair to experience a day of amusement and exuberance, to encounter a colourful, animatronic, sensory landscape. The people who indulge in the food, play the games, ride the rides, and wander through the fair space to soak up its atmosphere. For some, these are new experiences; for others, visits are more regular, a personal tradition or based on previous experience.

Often referred to as the fair-going public, or more colloquially as “punters”, these individuals make up the crowds of watchers, participants, and daredevils that add to the creation of the fair atmosphere. Fairgoers themselves can be divided into distinct categories – “actors”, “spectators”, and “onlookers”: actors take part in the action; they immerse themselves in all aspects of experience, no holds barred. Spectators actively watch events unfold around them, but seldom actively participate. Finally, onlookers neither partake nor watch with enthusiasm; these are people there to appease their children, friends, or family, or those simply commuting through the space. Yet, all influence the ambiance in their own way (see also: Trowell, 2017a). Becoming intrinsically absorbed into the fair atmosphere through their engagement, or in some cases lack thereof.

Across six months, I completed forty-nine ‘snapshot’ interviews with fairgoers. All were interviewed for their accounts of affect, emotion, and atmosphere, in order to inform the sensory element of this project. Out of those interviewed, twenty-three are referenced throughout this thesis in line with subject content relevant to my empirical chapters; Table 3.3 provides a list of referenced participants.

Table 3.3: Participants – Fair-going publics

Pseudonym	Participant category	Fair attended/location of interview and date of interview	Experience	Immediate response
Bruce	Fairgoer	Kirkcaldy Links Market (21 April 2017)	Ghost Train (ride)	Mania
Tony	Fairgoer	St. Andrews Lammas Fair (10 August 2017)	Waltzer (ride)	Dizziness
Janet	Fairgoer	Alloa Spring Family Fun Fair (03 May 2017)	Toffee Apple (food)	Perfection
Jean	Fairgoer	Kirkcaldy Links Market (21 April 2017)	Ghost Train (ride)	Fear
Clinton	Fairgoer	Peebles Fun Fair (23 June 2017)	Waltzer (ride)	Memories
Wanda	Fairgoer	Perth South Inch Funfair (08 July 2017)	Toffee Apple (food)	Indulgence
Natasha	Fairgoer	Inverness Bought Park Funfair (02 September 2017)	Candy Floss (food)	Disust
Wade	Fairgoer	Im Bru Carnival (20 December 2017)	Popcorn (food)	Saltiness
Alfred	Fairgoer	Glasgow Green Easter Carnival (31 March 2017)	N/A – Recalls memories of light from childhood	Nostalgia – childhood memories
Barbara	Fairgoer	Edinburgh Meadows Funfair (02 June 2017)	Popcorn (food)	Crunchy
Jason	Fairgoer	Kilmarnock Funfair (25 March 2017)	Popcorn (food)	Buttery
Lana	Fairgoer	Barthgate Galadaye Funfair (03 June 2017)	N/A – recounts darkness as essential to fair	Light sensations
Tim	Fairgoer	Cumbernauld Funfair (18 May 2017)	N/A – recalls memories of boxing women	Shock
Selina	Fairgoer	Lanark Funfair (09 June 2017)	Candy Floss (food)	Temporality and sweetness
Lois	Fairgoer	Berwick Upon Tweed Funfair (04 May 2017)	Ghost Train (ride)	Fear
Jimmy	Fairgoer	Dingwall Funfair (29 April 2017)	Waltzer (ride)	Blur
Perry	Fairgoer	St. Andrews Lammas Fair (10 August 2017)	N/A – reflects on overall temporality of the fairground	Immaterial
Lex	Fairgoer	Hawick Funfair (11 June 2017)	Candy Floss (food)	Sugary
Sam	Fairgoer	Maryhill Funfair (14 April 2017)	Merry-go-Round (ride)	Memory
Chloe	Fairgoer	Dunfries Rood Fair (30 September 2017)	Merry-go-Round (ride)	Happiness
Jonathan	Fairgoer	Kilbinnie Funfair (15 May 2017)	Ghost Train (ride)	Darkness
Martha	Fairgoer	Dundee Funfair (08 October 2017)	N/A – reflects on film history of fair	Awe
Clark	Fairgoer	Livingston's Larrest Ever Funfair (23 October 2017)	Ghost Train	Screaming

Fairgoers are constituted and united by their attendance of fairs; representing a range of pasts and cultures, they introduced varied attitudes and recollections. Within the remit of this research project, fairgoers significantly contributed to the creation of a sensory ethnography; in particular, calling on their voices helped ground this project beyond my own experiences, feelings, and knowledge.

Throughout my fieldwork, I worked extensively with these three groups of people to understand the world of the fair and its impact on everyday places, historically and through time. Working across these particular groups I came to realise that they predominantly share a passion, a love for all things mystical and wonderful; a curiosity for the nostalgia that these fairgrounds create, demonstrated in their everyday interactions with the fair space.

3.2. Sites: places of methodological engagement

To discover the materialities, mobilities, and sensory geographies of Scotland's travelling fairgrounds, my methodology was enacted across a range of fieldwork locations to facilitate different research practices. These were primarily fairground sites (both summer travel sites, and wintering storage yards) selected both for their historical significance, or current functions; accordingly, this subsection is divided by research location.

3.2.1. The fairground: summer

Characterising the travelling fair with/ in a single definition or overview is an impossible task. Fair sites are places of thrill, vitality, frivolity, sensory engagement, and electrifying ambiance. How each of these experiences unfolds is unique to every site. Travelling fairs consist of diverse combinations of food stalls loaded with an array of sticky, chocolatey, melty goodness; hoopla stalls like Hook-A-Duck, or the Ring-Toss; and rides that flip upside down, twist at high speed, or chug along in tune to the music. Each site is arranged in specific patterns, dependent upon a range of factors (see '4.1. Site: spaces of the fair' for further discussion). In 2017, I spent a ten-month period (February-December) attending fairs across Scotland, wherein my primary goal was to experience a range of fairs throughout the travelling season – a process that was both electrifying and exhausting. As outlined in the introduction, fairs in Scotland traditionally operated via historical routes; though this is no longer standard practice, certain traditional sites continue to host fairs. It follows, that a central aspect or feature of my methodology was to incorporate as many of the original fair sites as possible.

My 31 fieldwork sites were chosen primarily in accordance with recommendations from Showpeople and sites identified online. Prior to embarking on site visits, I worked with six Showpeople to discover which sites remained operational. This information was corroborated by checking the following Facebook sites: ‘*Funfairs around Scotland*’ and ‘*Fairgrounds Scotland*’ – pages run by Showpeople and enthusiasts to list ongoing fairs.¹¹ Finally, local council websites were used to confirm locations and dates. Appendix A outlines a detailed list of the fairground sites I visited across my ten months of ethnographic fieldwork, listed in chronological order by ‘run’ dates, i.e. dates of operation.

During this fieldwork I attempted to learn more about the cultural and historical perspectives of travelling Showpeople, their routes, performances, and heritage. Being in these spaces highlighted the individuality of each fair by revealing relationships between materiality and atmosphere. In particular, attending fair sites permitted me to experience diverse fairground atmospheres, shaped variously by Showpeople enacting their trade. In addition, engaging with these spaces first-hand encouraged reflection, allowing me to become both participant and observer. Fairground summer sites were incredibly interesting places of research that took me on a cross-country adventure, while being in these spaces as a first-hand participant framed fair sites as distinctive.

In addition to touring sites throughout the summer season, I worked with a range of wintering sites.

3.2.2 The fairground: winter

During my fieldwork period, I completed research at six wintering storage sites, retained, managed, and designed by my research participants; Table 3.4 provides an overview of ‘wintering’ storage sites.

¹¹ <https://www.facebook.com/FunfairsAroundScotland/> and <https://en-gb.facebook.com/fairgroundsscotland/>

Table 3.4: 'Wintering' storage sites

Type of Site	Static/Mobile?	Location of Site	Contents Description
Articulated Lorry	Mobile	Glasgow, Scotland	Tools Spare ride parts (mechanical) Ride seats Paint Vintage Games
Shed	Static	Glasgow, Scotland	Tools Unused ride parts (rounding boards) Paint Sheets
Showperson's Museum	Static	Glasgow, Scotland	Showman's Wagon Galloper Organ (non-functioning) Rounding boards
Shed	Static	Glasgow, Scotland	Generator (unused) Ride seats Tools Galloper Poles Collections of World Fair newspaper clippings Paint
Shed	Static	Glasgow, Scotland	Cleaning Products Sound organ (covered in cloth) Ring toss bottles Bag of coins Carpets Tools
Museum Exhibit	Static	Glasgow, Scotland	Unused mechanical parts (screwdrivers, engines, fan belts) Waltzer carriage Steam Locomotive Funhouse Mirror Ball-toss mouth

Between October and December 2017, I conducted prolonged object examination, communicated in my research diaries:

‘Stepping into Benjamin’s articulated lorry I was met with a musty smell, an almost sticky atmosphere. This lorry was old but tidy. Sitting eight feet off the ground, climbing the rickety wooden ladder only added to the experience of walking into this historic [make-shift] archive. Inside, the plastic sheet walls rattled gently in the wind and it took a minute for the light to reach its maximum brightness. All around me were relics of history, an unofficial archive, gathering dust in the yard. The collection was impressive. Vintage games nestled alongside family heirlooms were covered by thick blankets. A site of significant history tucked away in the most inconspicuous of places – a Showman’s articulated lorry in Glasgow’s East End (Fig.3.1).’

(Ethnographic excerpt. Glasgow. 31 October 2017)



Fig. 3.1: Showman’s articulated Lorry, Glasgow, 31 October 2017. Source: Author’s Own

These wintering sites represented the opposite of the summer sites. At the fair, everything is meticulously organised, with rides and stall spaces being measured down to the inch, or conversely even the millimetre; there is little room for manoeuvre, literally and figuratively. Yet these wintering sites were chaotic and messy, but only to the participant observer; to the Showperson they were organised:

‘Jack’s site was larger: a shed (Fig. 3.2) beside his chalet, filled with relics and artefacts, all protected by layers of plastic. This was a site-in-progress; one waiting to be transformed into a museum. A treasure trove, months away from being proudly displayed. This space was roomy but musty, befitting of the history within its walls.’

(Ethnographic excerpt. Glasgow. 15 November 2017)



Fig. 3.2: Showman’s wintering container, Glasgow, 15 November 2017. Source: Author’s Own

Artefacts and documents were hidden away, collecting dust. To the untrained eye, these simply looked like junk, though to the researcher and Showman, these items represented a treasure-trove of information, a repository of its very own; a story waiting to be told. A combination of spare parts, tools, paints, and historic artefacts concealed in vans and storage containers revealing closely guarded sources of information and history.

As spaces of research, these wintering storage sites offered the opportunity to conduct detailed object examination and provide further opportunities for interviews to take place. Working with these sites enabled me access to objects otherwise restricted in the field, such as ride seats (Fig. 3.3), rounding boards, and vintage games (Fig.3.4), many of which awaited restoration or repair.



Fig. 3.3: Juvenile 'Teletubbies' ride seat awaiting redesign, Glasgow, 22 November 2017. Source: Author's Own.



Fig.3.4: 1920s 'Fruit Machine' awaiting restoration, Glasgow, 12 October 2017. Source: Author's Own

The eclectic mix of rides, tools, games, and bric-a-brac, facilitated questions around the origin, manufacture, and development of these fairground items (see Appendix B). In light of this, working in wintering storage sites articulated them as spaces of ‘make-do’ research, allowing the material to lead the researcher. Travelling to these different sites permitted me to experience first-hand a range of significant living locations, and by extension introduced me to the private worlds of Showpeople. By engaging with these materials in diverse spaces, I was able to garner an in-depth picture of the geographies that go into creating Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds and uncover some of the complexly guarded trade-secrets of the families whose daily task is to keep fair traditions alive for the future.

3.3. Methods for a more-than-human space

‘Research is to see what everybody else has seen and think what nobody else has thought’ (Szent-Gyorgyi, 2009: n.p.); a difficult task to say the least, especially in spaces as enigmatic, chaotic, and multi-sensory as Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds. Geographers have moved towards exploring intersections between humans and the environments in which they move, live, and work, using creative methodologies within the field of cultural geography to re-frame non-representational theory (Watmore, 2006). Involving ‘heightened awareness of how the world unfolds through practice, and how spaces are made this way’ (Morton, 2005: 664), a non-representational approach encourages ‘accessing different kinds of understandings and different ways of knowing and doing (such as bodily movements, bodily knowledges, non-verbal communications)’ (Morton, 2005: 665). At the fair, performance, experience, and atmosphere, are symbiotic, essentially produced by an interaction with material; in order to appreciate the nature of this relationship, my overall methodological practice called for an embodied and engaged approach. Foregrounding how humans encounter the fairs material and sensory features, created a comprehensive understanding about how human and nonhuman agencies in this space come together to reconfigure site. Particularly, unearthing the histories and materialities that underlie the past, called for ‘the use of multiple techniques and perspectives, key to maximising [my] understanding’ (Clifford, *et.al*, 2010: 8). For this reason, my methodology was designed to discover the way these geographies came together to reconfigure ideas about memory, nostalgia and atmosphere.

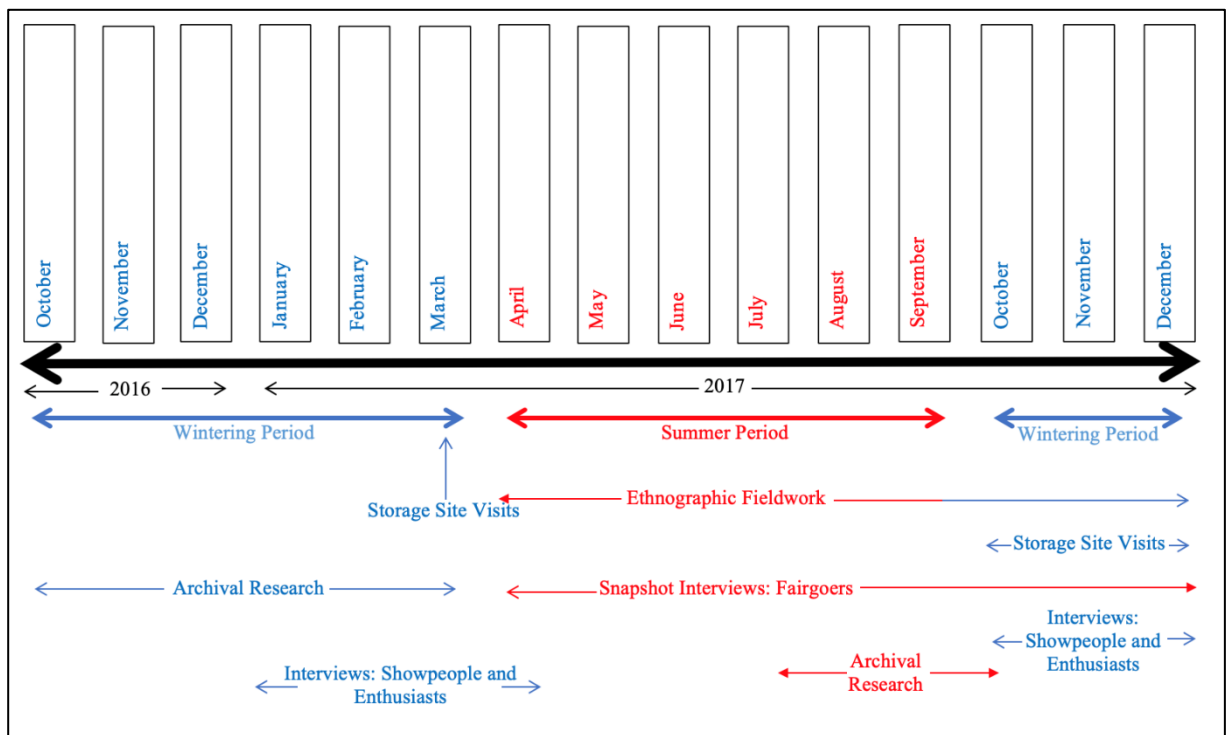


Fig. 3.5: Fieldwork Timeline. Source: Author’s Own.

These fifteen months of fieldwork included an intense overlap of multiple methodologies, as demonstrated visually in the timeline above (Fig. 3.5). Overall, it was designed and undertaken to achieve a comprehensive familiarity of the various geographies that underpin Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds.

3.3.1. Paperwork, recruitment, and ‘false starts’

Much of my methodological approach was shaped by my initial understandings and naïve expectations that things would come together smoothly. Though I had considered the project’s limitations, and the possibility that I may encounter hesitation or difficulties, I did not expect a project of this nature to be met with such ‘resistance’.

Prior to embarking on fully-fledged fieldwork out in the muddy trenches, I scrutinised a range of academic and non-academic sources, relating to the core geographic themes and concepts that make up this thesis. Contextualising my approach in literature enabled a deeper understanding of how these differing themes converge, and what methods might facilitate comprehensive research. Simultaneously, I went through the rigorous process of ethics approval. Following the green light from the ethics committee, I began to make contacts. Jeremy, a fourth generation Showperson took me under his wing, bringing me into the fold. With his help I identified a range of individuals and organisations across the show-and-enthusiast-communities,

potentially capable of contributing. At this stage I began actively ‘recruiting’, sending out emails, Facebook messages (Fig. 3.6) and posts, as well as attending group meetings with the Fair Glasgow group.¹² My recruitment ‘campaign’ provided an overview of my research topic, along with some example interview questions.

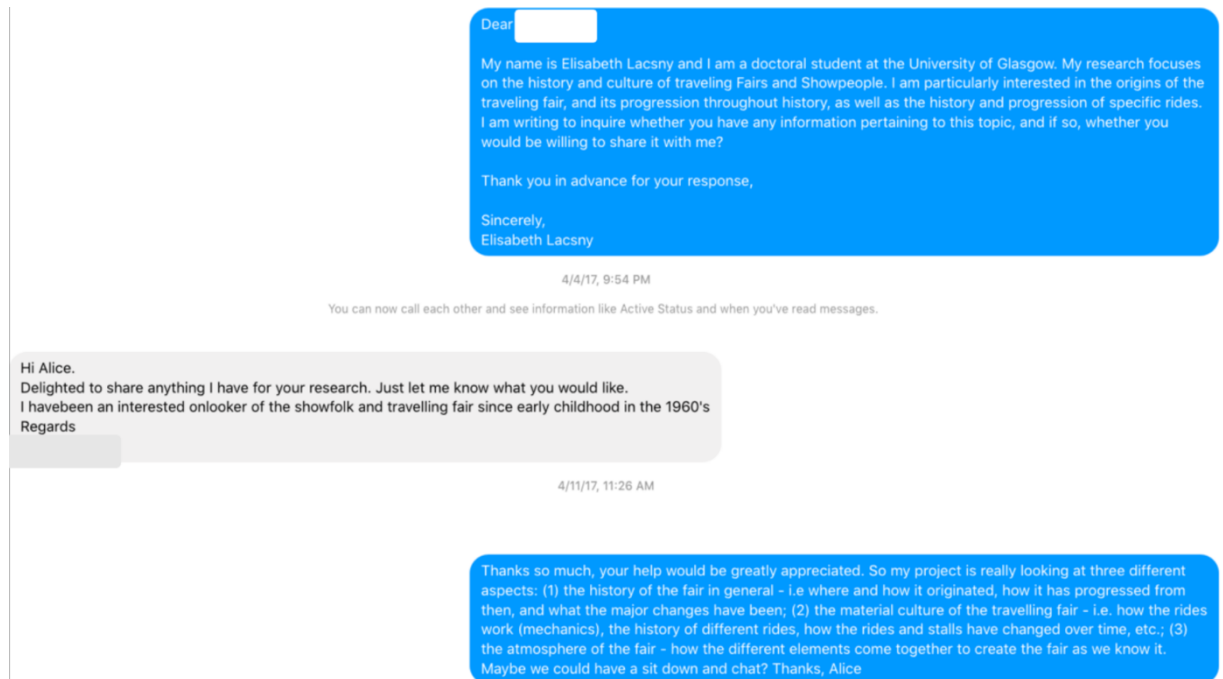


Fig. 3.6: Facebook recruitment: message sent to participants, April 2017. Source: Author’s Own.

Within the first week I had contacted over fifty persons or organisations of interest, including the Scottish Showmen’s Guild (SSG): a committee of Scottish Showpeople. A select few responded almost immediately, either agreeing to participate, or politely declining. The vast majority, however, never replied. With encouragement from my supervisors, and upon learning that Showpeople seldom communicate via email, I commenced a more active recruitment approach, including visiting prospective organisations in person. Here, I observed a certain resistance and hesitation to work with an individual from outside this community. The majority of those unwilling to participate cited ‘fear of mis-representation’ as their primary concern; no doubt, as a result of previous misrepresentations in public media.

Enthusiasts, meanwhile, were just as tentative, with the majority citing time constraints

¹² The Fair Glasgow group is made up of Showpeople, Glasgow Life/ Glasgow Museums staff, and fairground enthusiasts, working together to create awareness of the cultural and historic significance of Scotland’s Showpeople. This working group originated in 2010 out of a collaboration between Showpeople and Glasgow Life, which culminated in annual displays of traditional fairground stalls at the Riverside Museums ‘Christmas Fair’. Further developments are discussed in ‘*Current climate and future projections*’.

and busy schedules. So, what had started off as a promising line of inquiry, quickly presented increasing methodological challenges, effectively resulting in a ‘false start’. Eventually, I was able to recruit twenty participants willing to be interviewed; while limited, this number enabled me to establish a working rapport with those involved and permitted the possibility of repeat interviews.

To supplement interview data, I additionally changed the focus of my research and adapted my course of action to include an ethnographic element, alongside recording fairgoers experiences. Consequently, what was previously ‘unobtainable’ could be enhanced with a more personal narrative.

3.3.2. Practicing ethnography: reflective participant observation

In theory, ethnographic research inspires the researcher to adopt an unbiased approach: ‘those who watch their research subjects in a detached, emotionless manner’ (Laurier, 2010, cited in Clifford, *et.al*, 2010: 117) can remain impartial, separate from their research. Meanwhile, participant observation should allow the researcher to interact and engage animatedly with the surrounding landscape, both actively and emotionally; thereby, creating embodied research. Throughout this research, both practices were employed during fieldwork. Ethnography entailed experiencing each fairground from an observational perspective, recording notes on site and performance in a fieldwork diary. Moreover, it permitted ‘detached’ observation of fairgoers, Showpeople, and enthusiasts. At all 31 locations, logging my ethnographic interpretations was a priority, ensuring that [later] participant experiences would not influence my initial observations.

Conversely, attending those same fairs as a participant fairgoer meant sampling toffee apples and candy floss, soaring through the sky on chair-o-planes, hiding from ghouls on ghost trains, winning prizes at the ring toss, and so much more. Each of these activities allowed me to experience the fair atmosphere first-hand; in addition to interacting with fairgoers, enthusiasts, and Showpeople in their element. Documented observations, including photographs, diary entries, and audio-visual recordings, highlighted intricacies of the fairs’ atmospheres and energies, for later reflection and analysis. Within this process, I also took on the role of an enthusiast, guided by one of my participants through the hidden world of the fair. Through this experience I was brought up close and personal with the elements they explored, and the way in which they carried out their enthusiasm, albeit from an individual’s point of view. Taking on the role of ‘official’ enthusiast, even if only for a day, enabled a more in-depth experience of the

fairs hidden worlds and thus and made my own observations a lot clearer.

Extended visits to fairs across Scotland encouraged a reflective approach, as well as auditory and visual engagement. Photographs proved invaluable to preserving experience, as they ‘are not static, and neither do they freeze the objects featured in them. Photographs catch a moment...’ (Bond, *et.al*, 2013:14). In my experience, these documented visual materials supported my attempts to create a narrative, rooted in experience. Snapshots of ‘performing’ fairgoers, enthusiasts, and Showpeople, detailed affect as emergent around and through rides and shows. Audio-visual recordings framed these fairground practices and experiences in sound: ‘behaviour is impromptu, speculative, and contextual... and the accompanying communication, embodiment, emotion and expression’ (Morton, 2005: 662) is just as impulsive. Watching the world of the fair play out around me, and taking part in its activities, allowed me to experience and witness these unfolding geographies first-hand.

Although valuable for experiencing the atmospheres of the fair, participant observation and ethnography presented multiple ethical implications, particularly in relation to anonymity. Audio-visual recordings and photographs of fair atmosphere predominantly featured voices or faces of non-participating members of the public; as a result, only photographs and videos with direct consent from participants are used throughout this thesis. From a personal perspective, many of my experiences, whether triggered by taste, sound, sight, or touch, prompted longing for my childhood. Music booming through the speakers often had me singing along to 90s hits, reminiscing about the carefree life of a prepubescent teenager, while cringing at the overly sugary-sweetness of candy-floss made me yearn for the days when sickeningly sweet treats tasted pleasant. But, beyond that, participant observation and ethnography enabled me to experience the fair as manifest in bodily experience, non-verbal communication, and embodied engagement. While ethnography allowed for an element of professional distance, participant observation allowed me to become part of the fair atmosphere; thereby, both observing and engaging with this enigmatic environment.

3.3.3. Exploring the archive: situating the past in the present

Withers’ (2002: 305), contends: the archive is ‘a site of knowledge-making’; a place of documented history collected and preserved to incentivise the future. ‘Historical work in the sub-discipline is based on traces left by former lives’ (Lorimer, 2009: 251), found predominantly in archives; as such, the archive presented itself as a site through which to discover histories of the fairgrounds past. As a resource, such documentation can bring to life ‘forgotten stories’ of

places and people, whilst allowing the researcher to become the teller of these stories. Nash (2000: 24) suggests that historical geographers have extended ‘intersections between representation, discourse, material things, spaces, and practices’; from a non-representational perspective, the archive represented an opportunity to discover remnants of a material culture as a tool to reconfigure and re-animate the histories of the fairground.

Throughout my research, I conducted archival fieldwork at two primary locations: The National Fairground and Circus Archive (NFCA), and the Glasgow City Archives. My time at the archives was sporadically interspersed between days of ethnographic fieldwork and interview. The NFCA is the UK’s largest single-site source of materials relating to British fairground and circus history. Located in the Western Bank Library of the University of Sheffield, it forms part of their Special Collections and Archive Division. The collection was established in 1994 by Professor Vanessa Toulmin during her Ph.D. research and has continued to grow since; current collections focus on the ‘history of popular entertainment in the United Kingdom from the seventeenth century onwards’ (NFCA, 2020). Throughout my research, this archive represented a space of history that allowed me to learn more about the growth and development of fair culture, whilst away from the more ‘hectic’ spaces of the travelling fair. This environment provided time to process and digest ethnographic experiences while considering the logistical processes behind the fair.

Working with collections at the NFCA unearthed a diverse range of material that gave this research historical context. The NFCA provided particularly unique collections of material, pertaining to Britain’s travelling fairs post-1800. Here, I spent time delving into the repository and associated library, collated over the last 25 years. I worked exclusively with the following collections: Scrivens and Smith Collection (NFA0013); David Braithwaite Collection (NFA0053); and, Paul Braithwaite Collection (NFA0114) – see Appendix C for a detailed list of collection items. These were selected for their apparent link to Scotland, prior to attending the archive by consulting the NFCA’s online catalogue.

As a secondary site, the Glasgow City Archives provided a local site to learn about Scotland’s past. As Glasgow’s largest collection of archival documentation, the Glasgow City Archives house a range of sources pertaining to architectural artistries, local histories of Glasgow, and family ancestries, among other elements. Located on the fifth floor of the Mitchell Library, these archives include photographs, books, and documents, pertaining to Glasgow and its surrounding areas. Working in the individual study rooms, or sometimes spread across the communal map tables, facilitated in-depth examination of the varying materials available.

Across my fieldwork period, I worked with the ‘Glasgow Collection’ (GC 398. 5 GLA) from the Mitchell Library Special Collections, as well as individual pieces from the Glasgow City Archives; further details of which can be found in Appendix D. These collections helped to shape my understanding of Glasgow’s social and cultural history, creating a more comprehensive image of the way that travelling fairgrounds might have been encountered throughout past periods. This research was completed by identifying specific collections on the Virtual Mitchell website and via the Scottish Archive Network (SCAN) online catalogue, before visiting the archive in person to examine the material.¹³ At this site, I examined public notices and adverts, newspaper articles, and photographs of Glasgow; working with these archives allowed for a more local element to the research.

Finally, online archives were used to supplement my findings; these included: the Scottish Screen Archive, the University of St. Andrews Special Collections, and the ‘Burrell Collection’. The latter of the two sites was searched using the SCAN online catalogue. Further details of items used are listed in Appendix E. Combined, these materials were ‘used to provide interpretation and analysis of the geographies of past periods’ (Ogborn, 2010, cited in Clifford, *et.al*, 2010: 89) in Scotland, wherein I endeavoured to trace the journeys and relationships, associated with different forms of amusement at fairs.

However, across all sites (both physical and virtual) I encountered considerable gaps in the resources available: at the NFCA I came across an absence of Scottish record; many of the items detailed English fair history, with only brief references of Scotland. Conversely, while the Glasgow City Archive contained pertinent information about Glasgow’s history, I found there to be limitations around Scottish Showpeople and fairgrounds. Across both sites, many of the sources I encountered were short newspaper clippings, or occasional photographs not detailed enough to enable an accurate re-telling of the fair’s history. Consequently, I turned my attention to implementing what DeSilvey (2007) and Lorimer (2006) term a ‘make-do’ method: utilising materials from a range of repository sources (both official and unofficial) to ‘make-do’ (Lorimer, 2006). This resulted in a change of approach, enacted through engagement with the ‘unofficial’ collections of participating Showpeople and enthusiasts; here, I curated my own archive of sorts, ‘making-do’. Buchli and Lucas (2001: 14) theorise that ‘constellations of materials make present absent histories [though] some objects only become legible when placed in relation to other materials’ – make-do archiving permitted me to utilise material remains to recreate the history of Scotland’s travelling fairs by combining these resources with the

¹³ Website for Scottish Archive Network: <https://www.scan.org.uk/>

narratives of Showpeople. This ‘purposeful accumulation of fragments to compose archives which are conventional and unorthodox in form’ (Patchett, 2008: 24), constructed an account based on the limited records available. Letters (Fig. 3.7), diary extracts, photographs, materials objects, and oral histories inspired a more profound understanding of the relationships and materialities that underlie Scotland’s fairground families and their trade.

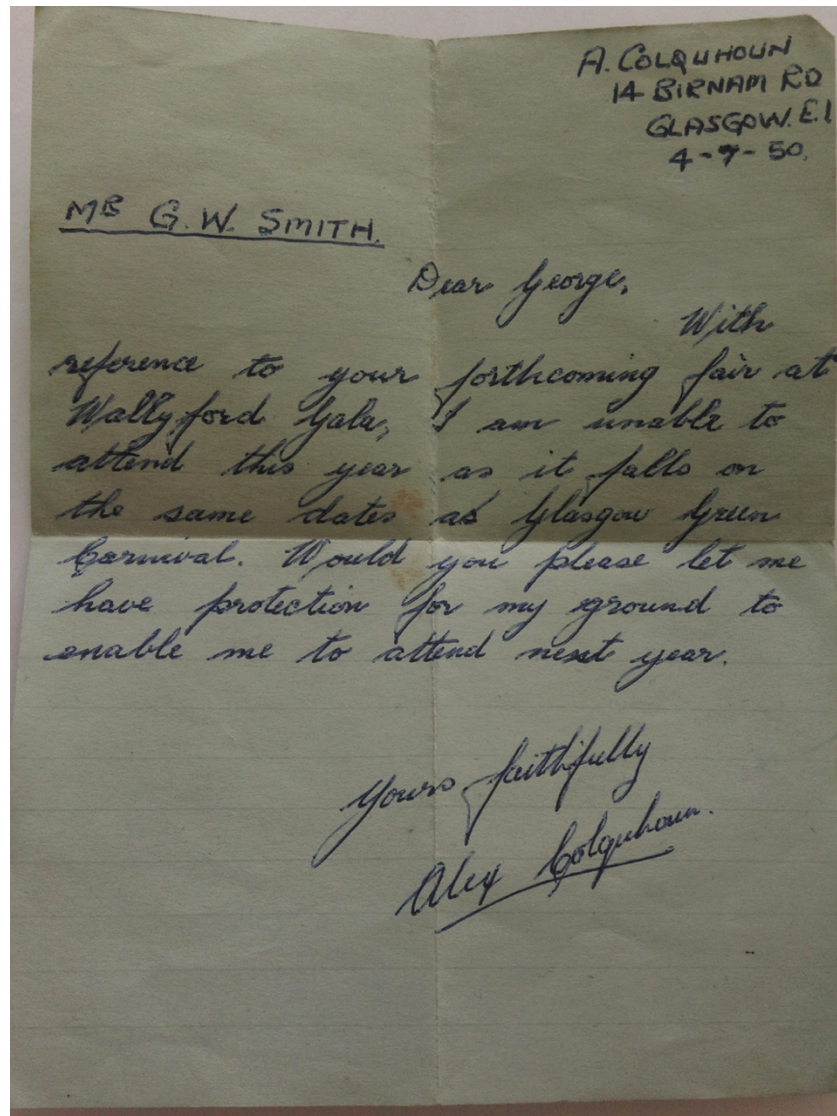


Fig. 3.7: Showperson’s letter detailing discussions of plot reservation at Wallyford Gala, 1950. Source: Author’s Own. Reproduced with permission from the Colquhoun family.

Yet, even with the addition of my participants private collections, there was a lack of official documentation regarding site-plans, lessee certification, and general maintenance authorisation. Based on discussions with my contributors, some themselves members of the SSG, I envision that having access to the SSG archive would potentially have enabled me to

better understand the official regulations that go into the making the fair a successful entity. To mitigate some of this missing information I contacted local history groups, though often neither they nor local councils were privy to this sort of information, or if they were, were not at liberty to provide it either due to Health and Safety or General Data Protection Regulations. Furthermore, elements such as the ‘tober’ of the fair, carnival atmosphere often captured through video and sound, remained unrecorded: ‘Not everything is preserved; there are many institutional and temporal boundaries, silences and forms of containment that are encountered in historical work’ (Ogborn, 2010: 63). Missing documentation and the lack of archival sources resulted in an incomplete record. Typically, make-do-archiving represents one of the ways in which these gaps can be filled, however, even with this method, my research required further supplementation from other methodologies.

From a reflective standpoint, working with such private sources, introduced an element of positionality. Ogborn (2010) contends, within most archives there is a question of bias and all researchers must question the source to remain objective. Throughout this research I frequently questioned my own personal struggles to appropriately re-animate documents in such a way that was both representative of the past, *and* a narrative for my participants current stories. As such, my research practices sought:

‘to bring the material and documentary properties of archives into play, through an emphasis on bodily performance, the mobility of materials and interplay between generating accounts and ongoing processes of interpretation’

(Dwyer and Davies, 2010: 89).

Many times, I experienced difficulty and disappointment at not discovering specific information; so, like DeSilvey (2007), I reformatted my approach and began engaging with these sources in a creative way, using them to reconstruct a narrative and re-telling of the fairs history by bringing them into interviews. In this vein, I hoped to ‘critically and playfully examine the way things are selected, sorted and preserved in the name of memory’ (DeSilvey, 2007p. 897). Arguably, this can be construed or understood as a replication or representation of Lorimer’s (2003) ‘call for historical geographers to extend their methods to hear small stories’ (in: Dwyer and Davies, 2019). A task also proposed by McGeachan (2014; 2018) who reasons that historical research can open up debates about memory and bodily experiences of the past. These understandings can also be applied to this project, wherein re-animating the geographies of past fair spaces, while challenging, created a more complete image of how body and space come together to create an atmospheric site.

Within my research my own positionality became a central consideration. Working with material from my participants meant that I had access to their very personal stories and experiences; consequently, prolonged engagement elicited ethical considerations around power and anonymity in line with Bakers' (2007: 231) sentiment, that 'the dead don't answer questionnaires'. Family trees and photographs belonged to, or included information about, individuals now deceased. As such, it became my duty to navigate this in such a way that was respectful but informative. In line with McGeachan (2018) I pieced together their lives and memories, remaining aware of my own role in re-shaping these stories, and while doing so identified emergent geographic themes. Throughout research, my archival fieldwork became a process of historical and geographical construction, rooted in working with sensitive information. This private nature inspired personal reflection, as well as acknowledgement of my own subjectivity and role in re-animating these histories.

Though limited in nature, my 'make-do' archiving provided information that exposed histories and connections, instrumental in revealing some of the processes behind the materiality of objects. Engaging in archival research permitted an in-depth look into the histories and geographies behind the social progression of Scotland's travelling fairgrounds.

3.3.4. Working with materials: objects and artefacts

A large part of 'making-do' was rooted in the material objects and artefacts of Showpeople. 'Material entities can be rich resources for recovering their histories' (Patchett, 2008: 18) and objects can be an important non-textual resource for the researcher. To develop a coherent material understanding of Scotland's travelling fairgrounds my research incorporated examination of objects directly related to the fairground experience, such as 'Teacup' seats, 'Galloper' poles, 'Ring-Toss' bottles, and rounding boards. DeSilvey (2007) proposes physical remains tell a story about their cultural history; objects serve as a way to document past lives and bring to life memories from the past. Fairground objects have 'indirect ways of telling us stories ... about power, agency, and history that we could never grasp through more direct forms of representation' (Hetherington, 2001, in: DeSilvey, 2007: 420). In my case, this pristine sheet music (Fig.3.8) proved a rare find.



Fig. 3.8: Pre-cut sheet music for an electric merry-go-round organ, Glasgow, 12 October 2017. Source: Author's Own.

Tucked away in a Showman's lorry, removed from the hustle and bustle of the fair for safe keeping, this sheet music represents a piece of musical history; a time when life at the fair was transformed through electric organs and their music. Housed in a protective plastic pocket and

buried under mountains of blankets, it is in pristine condition; a minor tear in one of the grooves being the only sign of damage. More generally, items carefully preserved revealed histories otherwise forgotten and many of the objects I encountered were particularly useful in revealing otherwise unknown information, especially in relation to manufacture. Additionally, inspecting the rides themselves over the wintering period, revealed concealed mechanisms, as well as manufacturer plates; sources that disclosed an entire geographic network extending beyond traditional remits of the travelling fair. In this sense, conducting object examination allowed me to learn what I could not have found out through interviews or archival research.

Patchett (2008: 18) believes object examination permits ways to unearth detailed information about the artefacts in question: ‘as the tigers physical fabric started to unravel, the story of their making began to suggest itself’; while tigers did not cross my path, many of the fairground materials prompted reflection from Showpeople, thereby revealing otherwise untold memories. These came about as a direct result of object examination in wintering storage sites, where opportunities arose to ask questions not covered in initial or secondary interviews. In this capacity, fairground materials revealed an ‘absence made present’ (DeSilvey, 2007: 401); a focus through which to analyse the history, space, and culture of the fair. For that reason, this method of research proved significant in discovering information omitted from archives, and in some cases even oral histories.

However, this process was in no way smooth sailing. Many modern rides were unobtainable for health and safety reasons, which limited my access to ‘retired’ objects and artefacts. Although this did not impede my progress per se, I did question whether this would restrict the extent of my knowledge, and as such my ability to learn more about the materiality of the fair. A further difficulty associated with object examination can be that it does not yield pertinent information (McGeachan, 2014); many of the artefacts in question had been refurbished, and thus displayed details and ‘stories’ distinct from their original history. In some instances, objects were damaged beyond recognition (Fig.3.9), and while this could have limited my research, it rather prompted an investigation into stories about material hardships of the mobile fairground life, explored in part through interviews.



Fig. 3.9: Wooden boards damaged beyond recognition, Glasgow, 28 March 2017. Source: Author's Own.

Additionally, the cramped spaces of Showmen's Lorries and sheds made for challenging working environments; although most interviews occurred in Showpeoples wagons, part of the object examination process involved engaged conversation. However, climbing up and down ladders whilst holding a Dictaphone proved somewhat difficult for a researcher with little balance, terrible hand-eye coordination, and two left feet, and so somewhat restricted conversations. Consequently, most of these interviews were recorded as fieldwork notes rather than using a Dictaphone. Furthermore, most objects were stored under layers of quilt or plastic sheet and had to be unearthed from their permanent sites of storage with great care, for both item and researcher. As such, much of my time was spent uncovering and re-covering objects; as a result, many of my initial audio-recordings are overlaid with the crinkling of plastic, hence, the change in decision to record these interviews via field notebooks.

As a method, object examination was predominantly restricted due to space, as well as accessibility; that being said, on-site material investigation proved particularly useful in uncovering hidden histories of fair materials. To this end, I maintain that objects provided a way to understand the material, and by extension cultural, geographies of the fair.

3.3.5. Interviews: exploring contemporary oral histories

Oral histories and personal reflections can reveal hidden meanings: ‘interviews allow for an open response in the participants own words’ (Longhurst, 2010, cited in Clifford, *et.al*, 2010: 105), thus, it is important to conduct conversations (see: Burgess, 1983; Legard, *et.al*, 2003). While much of this research was rooted in ethnographic immersion, the contemporary aspect of this project was developed through a range of interviews with Showpeople, enthusiasts, and fairgoers, to learn about Scotland’s travelling fairs, and their roles in its existence. Following Longhurst’s (2010, in: Clifford, *et.al*, 2010: 103) suggestion that ‘allowing the discussion to unfold in a conversational manner offers participants the chance to explore issues they feel are important’, the aim of these interviews was to elicit open and honest responses; for this reason, I combined structured questions with a semi-structured, conversational approach.

Sustained interviews with Showpeople were carried out between January-April and October-December 2017, during the fairs wintering period. Five initial interviews were conducted with Glasgow-based Showpeople to develop a technical understanding of the legal regulations of fairgrounds in Scotland; this included the application and enforcement of safety standards, municipal permits and licensing, and site inspiration (see Appendix F for sample questions). Conducting closed interviews in the first instance allowed me to familiarise myself with the technical grounding and language of the travelling fairground, as well as the processes behind their construction. Succeeding these initial discussions, seven additional Showpeople were interviewed for oral histories and anecdotes on Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds (see Appendix G). These questions followed a semi-structured format, wherein the majority were devised during on-site discussion based on participant’s responses. All questions were designed to elicit a variety of factual and reflective answers. These interviews lasted anywhere between one and three hours and were tape-recorded (with permission) for later transcription and analysis; additional notes were taken in a fieldwork diary. During object examination, four of the participating Showpeople agreed to let me interview them while examining their wintering storage sites. On these occasions I had a list of eleven set questions (see Appendix B) while additional questions were devised in the field, shaped by what was found on-site. As I realised

after conducting my first object-examination, it was difficult to hear the answers on tape due to the sounds of material being moved; subsequently, I made the decision to record all further object-examination answers only in a field notebook. Other interviews with Showpeople, conducted in their living wagons, were tape-recorded, with responses reviewed and transcribed after fieldwork.

Interviews with enthusiasts were conducted using a similar format. Recruitment was conducted via Facebook on the '*Scotland's Fairgrounds Good Old Days*' forum, and by sending personal Facebook messages to enthusiasts identified by Showpeople.¹⁴ Semi-structured interviews were carried out using a combination of closed and open-ended questions, to allow participants time to reflect (see Appendix H for sample interview questions). These interviews were all performed via skype or Facebook and tape-recorded or downloaded for later transcription and/or coding. Interviews were completed on a one-to-one basis with eight enthusiasts between January and December 2017. Silverman (1997: 248) contends 'interviews are central to making sense of our lives'; and as such, interviews with enthusiasts permitted a more historical focus and elicited more critical responses based on the primary experience of the fairground trade and its history. These interviews were aimed at producing an additional [perhaps complementary, perhaps contradictory] narrative to that provided by Showpeople, acknowledging that both are equally significant; together, they were used to attain a more well-rounded image of the fairground space.

In addition to interviews with Showpeople and enthusiasts, I conducted a range of snapshot-interviews with fairgoers on-site at summer fairground locations. Snapshot interviews lasted approximately a minute each and were designed to elicit immediate responses (see Appendix I for questions). Over the course of fieldwork, I conducted forty-nine interviews; of those forty-nine, twenty-three of them are referenced throughout this thesis, in line with conceptual focus. During the interview process, questions elicited responses based on sensory experience. Questions were brief and required only short and focused answers; most responses related to personal or emotional feeling and experience based on fairground atmosphere. These interviews were conducted at a range of fairs across Scotland with consenting adults by approaching people as they engaged with different elements of the fair space. Each interview was tape-recorded, and additional notes were made in my fieldwork diary at the end of the day. As part of my non-representational methodology, gathering stories from fairgoers helped shape my understanding of the fairground space, as well as providing a further narrative element.

¹⁴ https://www.facebook.com/groups/petermorran/?ref=group_header

Arranging interviews was conducted via email, Facebook, or face-to-face, depending on availability. Interviews with Showpeople were conducted in their wagons (their homes), primarily one-on-one.¹⁵ In two instances, participants wanted to be interviewed with their family members or friends, also research participants, which meant some of my interviews were conducted with multiple participants at the same time. Interviews with enthusiasts took place via Skype or on Facebook chat, predominantly due to time and location constraints. Communicating online through Skype and Facebook made it easier to arrange interview dates and times, though did introduce limited technical issues, such as failed calls or loss of signal. Finally, interviews with fairgoers were conducted on-site across Scotland. These snapshot interviews were based primarily on real-time responses from participants. More information on the fair sites visited is outlined in Appendix A. Generally, all sites were chosen for the benefit of participants, as well as to ensure that research could be completed successfully.

Prior to recording interviews, obtaining consent from my participants was the most immediate priority; offering my participants anonymity or the use of a pseudonym enabled individuals to speak more freely, resulting in more engaged and open interviews. For Longhurst (2010) a further part of the researcher's task is to consider the role of power within the interview. In working with a minority group, this became a central concern. Consequently, it was important for me to make my participants feel comfortable, rather than like research 'subjects'. Drawing on Finlay and Bowman (2017, in Hitchings and Latham, 2019: 5) who argue that 'being in and moving through' spaces occupied by participants encourages reflection, I maintain that conducting interviews in Showmen's living wagons and at fairs made my participants feel more at ease, and generated more considered responses. Conducting interviews 'actively' in place, served to remove some of the power differentials by placing me as one of them, particularly when working in fairgrounds as a fairgoer (Elwood and Martin, 2000). Showpeople's home spaces placed them in a familiar environment, thus encouraging them to be more open; in addition, working in their living wagons provided opportunity to examine Showpeople's private archive collections. Throughout, I devised and created my questions in such a way that reflected what I believe to be, an avid interest in the history of the fair and how it works. As such, allowing Showpeople to talk about their lives and memories served to lessen some of the implications of these power differentials, while sharing my own memories of being a fairgoer as a child helped

¹⁵ To mitigate any health and safety issues, I always made sure to inform my supervisors of my whereabouts, as well as keep my phone on me.

to diffuse some of the initial tensions present in early conversations (see also: Hitchings and Latham, 2019).

In terms of replication, Roulsten, *et.al*, (2003) maintain that interviews can create problems for the researcher; as conversations vary in focus, they cannot be replicated. As my interviews were semi-structured, each one implemented a unique combination of set and un-set questions, thereby generating varied results. For the purposes of replication, this poses obstacles, however, was the most appropriate method for my approach and topic.

Interviews proved particularly helpful in identifying key themes and concepts related to atmosphere, material, and memory. Specifically, interviews allowed me to experience site from different perspectives, thus, generating multi-faceted engagement with Scotland's travelling fairgrounds. While there are limitations to the interview practice, undoubtedly, the interviews conducted with Showpeople, enthusiasts, and fairgoers helped bring to life the world of Scotland's travelling fairgrounds.

3.4. Encountering self in place: reflections on positionality

As with all research, the researcher becomes inevitably entangled with the process (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003). In my approach, I became a kind of tool through which to investigate the geographies of the fair and my own agency became entwined, not only with that of my participants, but also with the material world of the fair. Consequently, part of my analytical process has been to reflect on this relationship.

During my research there was no expectation of neutrality; rather I began to acknowledge a reflexive position throughout my immersive practice, drawing on my own experiences of the fair to inform my work. This lent a much more authentic voice to the project, though also introduced bias to the writing, as my experiences and feelings significantly contributed to shaping and framing my results. A particularly important element was the cross-over between interviews and ethnography – conducting interviews, collecting oral histories, and actively participating as a fairgoer, enabled me to experience and recall my own memories while seeing landscape through the eyes of my participants; thereby blurring my own understandings of site with those of my participants. Laurier (2010) believes researchers should actively reflect on their role in the field, using personal reflection as a way to understand and process their own agency. My own reflections were brought into focus using personal fieldwork notes, anecdotes, photographs and film. Going between an ethnographic narrative and theoretical reflection

allowed me to engage creatively with the personal and more collective cultural memory of the fairground, especially with regard to fairgoers emotions:

‘the researcher cannot be present in a social field without participating and becoming a significant author of events, practices and political configurations, thereby effecting what happens and the significance it has for the constructions that emerge for participants’

(Turner, 2000, in: Grimm, 2012: 79).

It can be argued that in being part of the fairground environment I influenced the way others interacted; though this process shaped my research experiences, participant observation and ethnography also challenged me to consider my positionality in line with this auto-ethnographic approach.

Before embarking on this research project, I had a fairly limited background, knowledge, and experience of fairs across the United Kingdom. Growing up outside of the British Isles, many of my childhood fair memories are of local Kirtags, traditional street festivals in Austria. My memories of fairs in Britain are few, and even those, limited to holidays in Wales. As such, my experiences as a fairgoer to travelling fairs in Scotland have very much been shaped throughout my research for this thesis. This has also shaped my current understandings of the Showperson community to be an open and considerate group, happy to work outwith their community to publicise their trade.

That being said, there were times in the early stages of this research, where I very much felt like an outsider of this community. While my own group of participants was welcoming, helpful, and happy to contribute, a lot of other individuals and organisations did not afford me the same opportunities. As such, another important factor to consider in relation to positionality is the idea of my own outsidership within Showpeople’s communities and networks. Removed from this community before the project, I found that my status [as an ‘outsider’ from this often ‘outsidered’ group] proved challenging and limiting, especially in the initial stages of recruitment. Throughout my research I found it increasingly difficult to find Showpeople, and also enthusiasts, to assist with my research. Having written freely about ‘outsiders’ in ‘*2.1. Scotland’s travelling groups and their geographies*’ and how Showpeople are often othered due to their social placing on the periphery of mainstream society, I do understand their misgivings. Past misconceptions have made it difficult for many Showpeople to share their culture with individuals outwith this community, and so do not want to risk engaging with publications. However, throughout my research, and perhaps what I found most frustrating, was that a lot of these same individuals were happy to be interviewed by Scottish news outlets while I was

figured an ‘outsider’; not permitted insight into their community due to the sustained nature of this work. Initially, I felt almost as if I was being constructed as an ‘armchair’ academic with no interest in learning about the community I was working with. However, as time went on and I started to develop a rapport with my own participants, these feelings of ‘outsider’ or ‘imposter’ were replaced with a feeling of acceptance. In working with the show-community, I developed a bond of mutual respect between myself and those I worked closely with; a solidarity expressed through concerted efforts to discover and represent in writing the manifold geographies this community has to offer.

Generally, reflections on my own positionality echo sentiments of Hitchings and Latham (2019) who argue that as a central element of research it is important to acknowledge our own roles in the findings we produce. More specifically, they argue that recognising the body of the researcher influences the narrative of research, thus it is important to reflect on how we shape our research. Throughout this methodology, and throughout this thesis more broadly, I have attempted to acknowledge my own presence not only in relation to research, but also in relation to analysis; hence, I include my own perspectives and experiences alongside those of my participants in an attempt to identify my own role in shaping the findings of my empirical chapters.

3.5. Data analysis: visual methodologies

Visual methods have steadily become a central facet of research in human geography. Pioneered by Rose (2013), visual methodologies encourage the use of creative and artistic means to engage with reality. More specifically, visual materials can reveal elements about both the ‘researcher *and* the researched’ (Rose, 2014: 28). A photograph, for example, can divulge information about the social structures in the scene through performed actions as well as the perspective of the researcher, through colour, focus, and content. Thus, while working with my photographs, videos, field sketches, and site maps, I implemented visual analysis to engage with my sources; not only to understand the scene captured, but also what this meant on a broader cultural scale. Once my methodological process had been completed, I implemented a range of data analysis practices to make sense of my findings. Hay (2010) proposes that data analysis is at the heart of identifying the most significant results of research; here, data processing is an essential method to draw out concepts and theories from the research (Flowerdew, *et.al*, 2005). Understanding of my results was shaped by an in-depth examination of archival materials, as well as analysis of

interview transcripts, participant observation field notes, and visual materials, through coding and visual methodologies.

Punch (2002) maintains that careful observation by the researcher must be given to exhibited themes and concepts; this is particularly important when working with under-represented groups, such as Scotland’s Showpeople. To ensure that I comprehended my participants standpoints, I transcribed and coded both my recorded and online interviews for further analysis. Implementing Black’s (2010) idea that to fully understand sources, coding needs to categorise central details and themes, I broke ‘the data down’ and uncovered repetitions (Strauss, 1987, in: Clifford, *et.al*, 2010: 446). Therefore, and in accordance with Cope’s (2010, in: Clifford, *et.al*, 2010: 441) claim, that ‘by identifying categories and patterns we can begin to make more sense of the data and start to ask new questions’, each interview was annotated in line with the thesis’ central themes, to enhance analysis. Throughout, I used thematic coding to identify common themes – highlighted both by interview participants, as well as by my own fieldwork notes. Thereafter, I used Cook and Crang’s (2007) methods of initial and axial coding to analyse the overlap of different themes; this involved categorising repeated words and phrases. My analysis revealed connections and relationships between places and objects of the fair, expressed in a range of mind maps; an example of which is represented in Fig. 3.10.

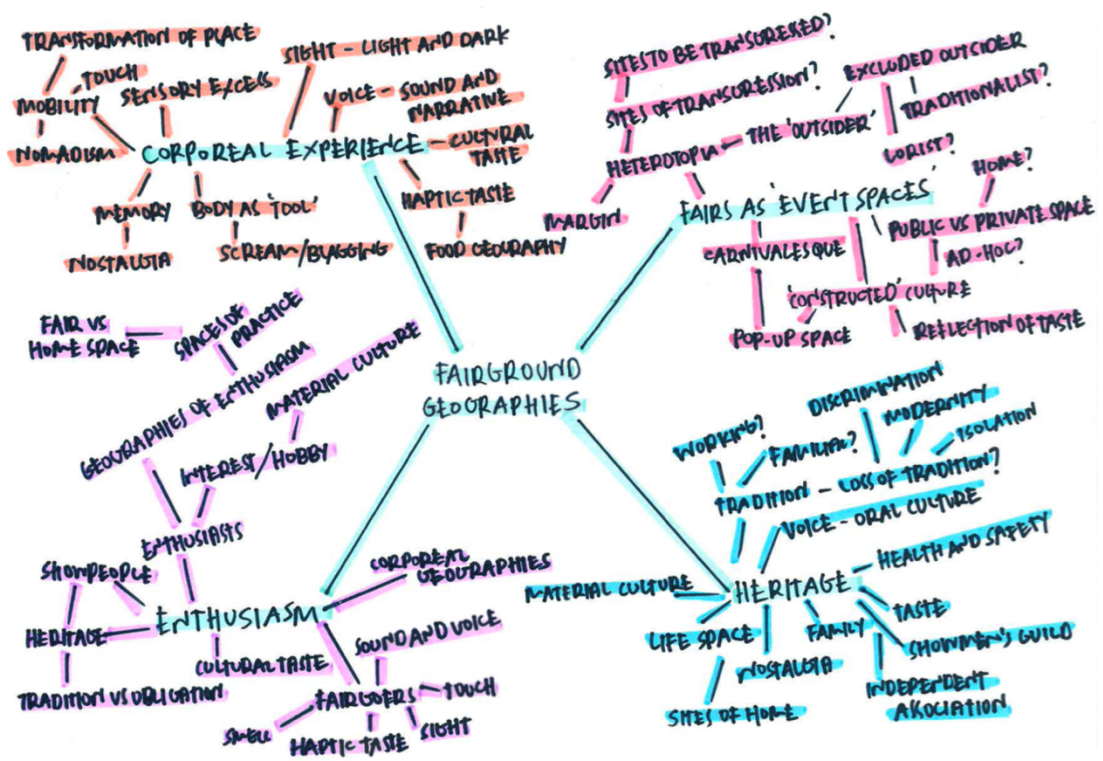
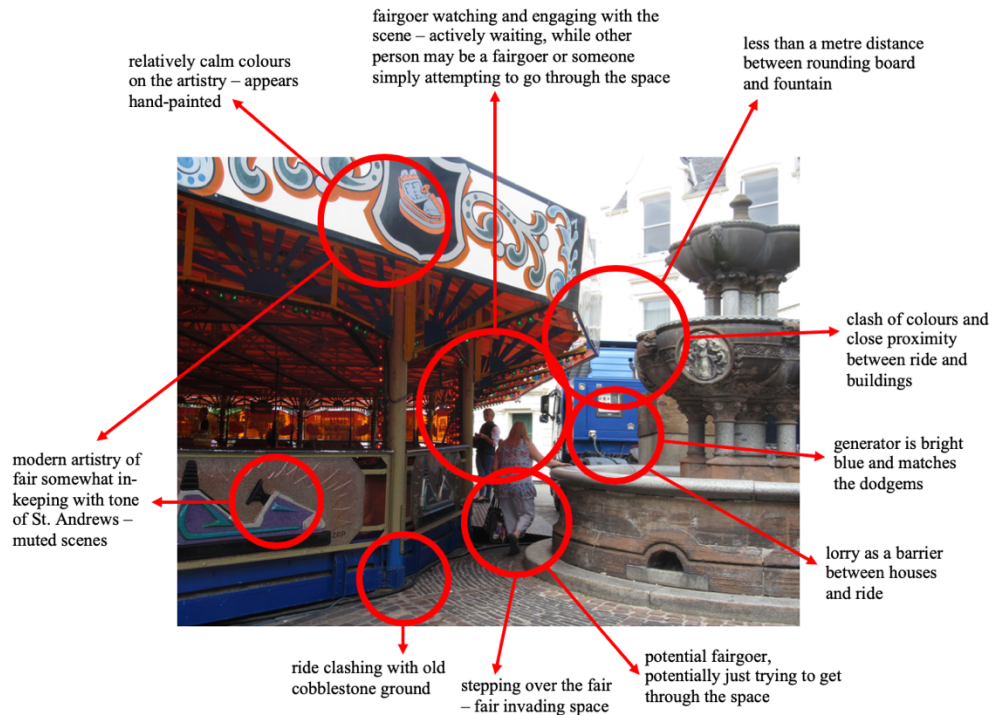


Fig. 3.10: Coding: geographies on the page. Source: Author’s Own.

‘By identifying categories and patterns’ (Cope, 2010, cited in Clifford, *et.al*, 2010: 441), I was able to understand the data more clearly, generating a more in-depth picture of the relationship between my core concepts and fieldwork findings integral to my empirical chapters.

A further method of analysis was enacted in the form of iconography: the interpretation of visual images (Fig. 3.11).



Predominantly, the above image highlights the close/invasive/transgressionary nature of Scotland’s travelling fairs. The photograph depicts a Dodgem set at the St. Andrews Lammas Fair – emphasises the close proximity between old town and new technology. From image we can see that there is a clash of colours and styles between the rides and the muted tones of St. Andrews buildings in the background. This is also represented by the generator lorry, a bright blue colour in the background. Additionally, demonstrates how Showpeople spatially ‘fit in’ and ‘pop-up’ in spaces. Moulding themselves to fit into small and peculiar sites and shapes. However, artwork on Dodgems to some degree is more formal/traditional. Not as garishly coloured and designed as some of the newer forms of airbrush artistry? Is this a reflection of the space? Is it hand painted? – could be the reason that this is somewhat in keeping with the traditions and colours/spaces of St. Andrews. What we can additionally see and thus, infer, is the difference in fairgoers. Generally, it is quiet, however, two people are in the shot, participating with the fairground space in their own way. One is actively walking through it, climbing over the physical placement of the ride in the middle of the town, thereby demonstrating the transgressionary nature of the fair – placing itself into the middle of the town causing people to have to work their way around it. The other is actively watching the Dodgems, engaging with the ride as it happens as an observer. Finally, we see the perspective of the photographer – interested in shape and space, both layout and design. But also interested in watching people interact with the fair space in different ways.

Fig. 3.11: Iconography in practice. Source: Author’s Own.

As evidenced from the above image, photographs can reveal elements and themes omitted from, or not present in, writing:

‘by focusing on hidden details of familiar objects ... under the ingenious guidance of the camera ... it manages to assure us of an immense and unexpected field of action’

(Bondi, *et.al*, 2013: 145).

Thus, photographs from the archive, as well as my own photographs and videos from the field, were analysed and scrutinised for ‘hidden’ details. This process was carried out after coding, to maintain standardised analysis throughout the research process. The same themes identified in the interview coding process allowed each photograph to be categorised and classified according to its predominant theme (Bartram, 2010). This method of visual analysis was particularly useful in exposing underlying perspectives of the researcher, especially for videos in shot-by-shot sequencing (Fig. 3.12).



Close-up shot – perspective from the centre of the thoroughfare. Shot of a Waltzer – brightly coloured; reds, purples, yellows, blues. Some fairgoers watching, others walking past, disengaged. Range of ages, mostly men – seemingly all going in the same direction. Clash of colours between Waltzer and people.



Long-shot. Lots of people in close proximity – range of ages. See only people from the back – all walking in the same direction? Security on platform, brightest element in shot. Rides, food truck, and lorries in background – faded into background, not focus of photo.



Long-shot. All seem to be facing same direction again – suggests there is a correct way to wonder through the fair. Shot of crowds. Proximity of people, but also open space. Highlights the close nature of rides, some inches apart. Rides come into better focus in this image.



Long-shot. No open spaces – people very close together. Different heights of rides – merge with buildings. First shot where building along Kirkcaldy esplanade can be seen.



Long-shot. People all crammed together – most facing same direction again. Dark sky in the distance pressing down on the fairgoers. Rides look small – angle of shot? Or distance?



Close-up shot of Waltzer. Blurring of camera – almost like a reflection of the Waltzers motions. Quick change in direction and perspective. Vibrant colours – clash between Waltzer and safety jacket. Lorry next to Waltzer = very close.



Long shot. Les people behind. Some watching Waltzer. This time people = walking in different directions. Rides are in the air – multiple colours converging in the same space.



Long shot. More people on this side. Flying and towering rides in background. Brightly coloured clothing reflective of atmosphere?

Walking through Links Market – in middle of market doing a panorama sweep using security as middle point. Looking at all angles and directions. Gives the impression the photographer is short. And also moving through space – working around different sides of the fairground.

Fig. 3.12: Walking through Kirkcaldy Links Market. 21 April 2017. Source: Author’s Own.

From the shot-by-shot reproduction of this journey along the thoroughfare of Kirkcaldy Links Market, we can see that every angle is different. Diverse lights, shapes, motions, and mobilities reflected in every step. As a method, shot-by-shot sequencing relates experiences of vision from the perspective of the researcher in such a way that allows for the role of colour and motion to be analysed. Beyond this, shot-by-shot analysis enables us to see through the eyes of the researcher, exploring and visualising the sights, movements, moments, and sensations they are seeing. Here, we can draw on Rose (1993), who argues that material visualisations enable us to understand the perspective of the researcher. The above sequence permits the viewer to experience the fair from a point-of-view perspective, placing them in the midst of the action; an approach further implemented in ‘4.2.1. *Artistic vision*’.

Overall, I believe that my methods of analysis aided and supported my research by seeing ‘what everybody else has seen, and to think what nobody else has thought’ (Szent-Gyorgyi, 2009, n.p.). Working with the documents from my participants enabled me to understand their views and perceptions, while my own allowed me to reflect on my position and understanding. By implementing these methods of analysis, I was able to exhibit my own

interpretations and create a clearer picture of the histories and geographies that Scotland's travelling fairgrounds have to offer.

3.6. Bringing together sources, sites, and methods for a fairground space

This chapter has endeavoured to delineate, explain, and illustrate the methods of investigation that I implemented throughout my research. It has outlined and described the sites, sources, and structure of my chosen methodology, and attempted to bring to life the practices of fieldwork undertaken in the pursuit of this research. Predominantly, my methodological approach was designed to think through and familiarise myself with Showpeople's world views *and* the more-than-human geographies generated at and by the travelling fair. Akin to the work of Merriman (2006a) that attempts to understand the historical development of motorways, this research was informed by a wish to understand the mobile processes of the fairground, not only in relation to traveller mobility and its resulting social constructions, but also to understand the mobility and materiality of artefacts involved in creating this sensory and atmospheric 'pleasure-land'. At the heart of my approach lay an attempt to create an embodied, 'non-representational account of the ways in which people encounter, move through and inhabit' (Merriman, 2006a: 78) the fairground space and landscape. By thinking of the documents, photographs, artefacts and videos of my participants as contingently assembled in the fairground space, my research became animated through processes of engagement, working together or disparately across different spaces, atmospheres and times of the fair. In uncovering oral histories and engaging the geographies of Scotland's travelling fairgrounds, I have produced work from a relatively uncharted realm, often ostracised due to misconception and misunderstanding. To that end, the chapters that follow are a '*patterned ground*' of sorts; a patchwork of encounters with the histories, memories, materials, and atmospheres from my time spent researching Scotland's travelling fairgrounds.

Chapter 4. Site and Sight: spaces and illusions of the fair

It can be argued that aesthetic enchantment and construction of space are the ‘driving forces’ of the travelling fairground:

‘the first thing you notice are lights – disco lights reflecting a multitude of colours, laser beams shooting high into the sky, and rounding boards expressing a cacophony of electric madness. All the senses tantalised by the creation of a particular site, designed in a specific way!’

(Ethnographic excerpt. Glasgow Fair. 16 July 2017)

The visual effects that serve to illuminate and transform everyday spaces generate an aesthetic atmosphere and a unique experience in-situ. These temporal creations introduce more-than-human geographies, wherein Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds manifest (more-than) representational phenomena in their embodied experience as sites of visual stimulation. Accordingly, this chapter poses [and answers] the three following questions: What is the relationship between site and sights (ontologically and empirically)? What kind of sights does the fairground site enable and assemble, or obscure? And, how does this tell us something about geography and the visual? In an attempt to remedy these questions, the chapter constructs the fairground as an atmospheric space, drawing in particular on Edensor’s (2012; 2015a; 2015b; 2017) theories on darkness, light, and affect, and Rodaway’s (1994) visual geographies of the body, to argue that site and sight converge as manifestations of sensory pleasure and carnivalesque excess.

Since the material turn in cultural geography, visual culture, visual methodologies, and visual geographies more generally, have been the focus of increased attention with sight, or vision, constructed as fundamental to experience (see: Rose, 2007; Tolia-Kelly, 2011; and Hawkins, 2013, among others). Accordingly, within this chapter, I explore the visual geographies of the travelling fairground by engaging with site and sight as entwined elements.

In ‘4.1. *Site: spaces of the fair*’ I argue that site, as location, is integral to understanding the travelling fairground space; ‘4.1.1. *Constructions*’ and ‘4.1.2. *Site-lines*’, outline processes of the fairs production. Individual fairs create distinctly different atmospheres, and thus, unique sites [and sights]. Consequently, this chapter attempts to define site in a fairground context, as well as consider the politics, technicalities, and rules of place. More specifically, I argue that organisation and layout shape fairgoers experiences; fairs serve to guide, as well as relate familial history, where a comparison of fairs, leads into discussion about the technicalities of pre-determined and bartered ride placement. This chapter further considers how site and

placement have influenced the fairground over time, and how literal locations of fairs today represent spaces on the margin. Ultimately, I engage with the fair as a site of ‘transgression’, uniting carnivalistic elements to create a paradoxical space.

Although it could be argued that all definitions of the term ‘sight’ are applicable in a fairground space, extending to psychological imaginings or extraordinary visions, for the purposes of this chapter, I am defining ‘sight’ as the process of seeing. The travelling fairground is particularly reliant on its visual ‘sight-scape’ to generate atmosphere; therefore ‘4.2. *Sight: illusions and visions of the fairground*’ analyses the travelling fairs visual experiences by considering the roles of ‘light and darkness’ in creating sensory atmospheres and experiences. In ‘4.2.1. *Artistic vision*’, geographies of light, affect, and atmosphere offer a scholarly basis from which to provide an analytical account of the fair’s visual capacities (see also: Edensor, 2012 and 2015b; Boehme, 2017; and Ingold 2015). Here, the relationship between mobility and light in the Waltzer offers a platform for understanding movement-based visual experience of style, colour, motion, and shape, while the establishment of visual attractions presents insights into visual memory. In ‘4.2.2. *Visions of art*’ I contend that changing popular cultural trends have resulted in varied expressions of art, and consequently a range of experiences for fairgoers, enthusiasts and Showpeople over time. While ‘4.3.3. *Sightlines*’ highlights the importance of perspective in creating memory. Throughout, I draw on Rodaway’s (1994) visual geographies to consider the role of the human body in engaging with visualities of the fairground site.

Finally, ‘4.3. *Geographies of site and sight*’ marries these concepts to argue that they are intertwined, their symbiotic nature creating a space reliant on sensory engagement. As a central argument throughout this chapter, sites generate memories for fairgoers, and a corporeal relationship of sorts for Showpeople, enthusiasts and fairgoers, characteristically dependent upon sensory experiences. Ultimately, this chapter has been designed to engage with, the most intrinsic non-representational geographies of site and sight at the travelling fair.

4.1. Site: spaces of the fair

The fairground represents an amalgamation of different atmospheric spaces whereby each site evokes its own memories and sensory experiences for Showpeople, enthusiasts, and fairgoers. Texture, mobility, and atmosphere highlight the paradoxical nature of this space, and construct it as carnivalesque: a space in which opposite worlds coming into being at the same time. For Showpeople is it a public and private space, shaped by routine; for enthusiasts it represents sustained interest and a space for performance; while fairgoers encounter it as a site

of fleeting immateriality designed to challenge inhibitions and imbue atmosphere in place (Downie, 1998). Travelling fairs are continuously uniting properties of free interaction with eccentric behaviour, and carnivalistic misalliance with realities of everyday space, therein creating conflicting worlds in the same space (Bakhtin, 1968). Historically, they have represented sites of modernity, presenting the latest technologies and design. Today, however, the fair landscape is changing. Enigmatic and unknown, travelling fairs fashion sites of entertainment rooted in ecstasy. Fairs transgress boundaries daily, crossing between public and private space, inspiring their audiences to do the same. These effects are experienced variously across travelling fairs in Scotland as spaces of carnivalistic misalliance, uniting opposing spaces, natures, and dichotomies (Bakhtin, 1968). Beyond their own ‘containment’ these fairground sites are also paradoxical to the spaces that surround them, creating site-lines which expose tensions between dichotomous inside/outside and public/private constructions. In order to appreciate the atmosphere of these sites it is important to glimpse, expose, and understand the processes, structures, and histories that go into their making. Congruously, engaging with constructions, site-lines, and teardown processes enables a look behind the proverbial stage curtain and ‘unmasks’ the structures that make up the fairground site.

4.1.1. Constructions

The official start of the fair is signified by a ceremonial celebration, enacted through the ringing of a bell or another tradition, equally as revered (Trowell, 2017b). It is a ritual process, typically celebrated at the onset of opening day. Yet, behind the success of the travelling fairground, and before its official opening, lies a complex process of construction, moulded and informed by historical and current political, social, and dimensional constrictions (Terranova-Webb, 2010).

There are numerous steps in the making of the tober – the fairs ‘sensational’ atmosphere, each meticulously considered and enacted by the lessee; this includes renting the ground from the Local Authority, organising, and finally hosting the fair. In the first instance, the lessee’s duties include deciding what style of fair to host: traditional fairs operate on a pay-per-ride basis, while some modern fairs have implemented timed ‘sessions’ or wristband payment systems, as a means to generate larger crowds or greater profit – these latter arrangements enable fairgoers to partake in as many rides as they wish (or can stand!) for a flat fee. Subsequently, the lessee must reserve a site and advertise their fair to Showpeople, working out what combination of rides they require, and who they want to work with. Having made their official selection, the lessee will then advertise to fair-going publics using newspapers, posters, and online forums

(Trowell, 2017b). At this stage, a major responsibility is the organisation of local services and amenities, including an on-site water supply and refuse collection throughout the fair's duration (DFHC, 2020). Before Showpeople arrive for 'set-up', the lessee will also organise the physical layout of the event in accordance with certain factors, outlined below in greater detail. Throughout the fair, they will manage Health and Safety regulations, and once it is over, is responsible for organising 'teardown' procedures. This process usually takes several months, so a lessee is only able to host a limited number of fairs each year.¹⁶

Each site is organised in a precise and specific arrangement, according and adhering to strict Health and Safety guidelines, as well as historic familial rights. The separation between the fair and everyday space occurring along the 'fair line' to make sure a tober (Fig. 4.1) is created (see also: Walker, 2018).

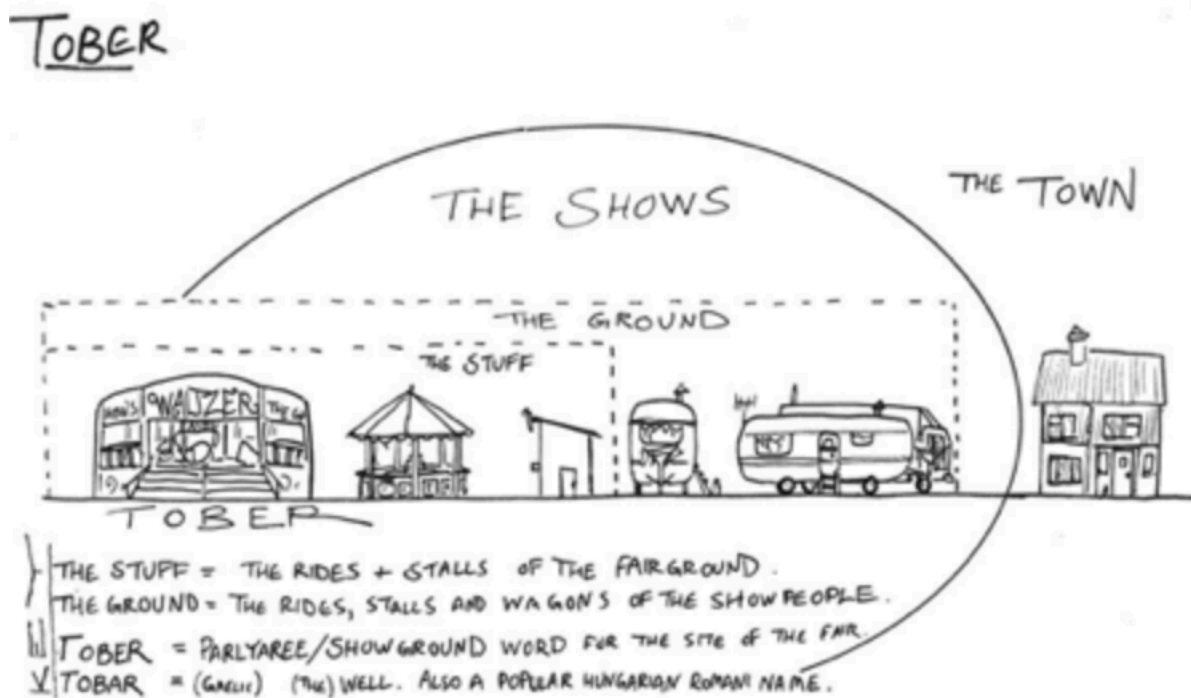


Fig. 4.1: Dialectogram – a multi-layered depiction of 'The Tober'. Reproduced with permission from Mitch Miller. © Mitch Miller.

The tober of the fair is an experience to behold, often heralded as such by many a fairgoer: 'the atmosphere is special, but difficult to describe ... you have to be there, to experience it for yourself in order to understand. It's almost ... you become engulfed in another world' (Interview

¹⁶ Information gleaned from interviews with participants – each who had their own detailed versions of a lessee's role. This is an abridged version of all steps mentioned.

excerpt. Selina. 09 June 2017). Within the layout of the showground, and by extension the fair, there are different layers: the ‘stuff’ that generates the atmosphere – rides and stalls designed to thrill and enchant; the ‘ground’ of the show – the in-between place in which rides, stalls, lorries, and wagons reside; and then there is the town, socially distinct from, yet geographically intrinsic to the world of the fair. The line between the fair and the town, the “good frontage” (Walker, 2018). Individually each element has its own role, either entertaining, living, or hosting, but only together do they make up the tober of the fair.

On the showground, ‘pride of place’ is afforded to large rides and central attractions: Waltzers, Ferris-Wheels, and Dodgems – the champion attractions. These are flanked by hooplas and joints: smaller supporting rides such as juvenile teacups, and games like hook-a-duck, designed to retain the crowd’s attention between rides. This is a model developed during the nineteenth century, when stalls and performers commanded attentions as sideshows or while Bioscopes were being prepared (Toulmin, 1994). Rounding off the site are food kiosks: burger vans, donut-stands, and sweet vendors, being the most common [and popular!] This design is tried and tested:

‘Doesn’t matter what the site is ... whether it’s an enclosed fair (Fig. 4.2) or one with a clear thoroughfare (Fig. 4.3) ... you’ve got to put the top stuff in the middle. You need to make sure everyone gets the same shot, so you put food on the ends, supporting either side, and your waltzers [and the like] in the centre.’

(Interview excerpt. Samuel. 28 March 2017)

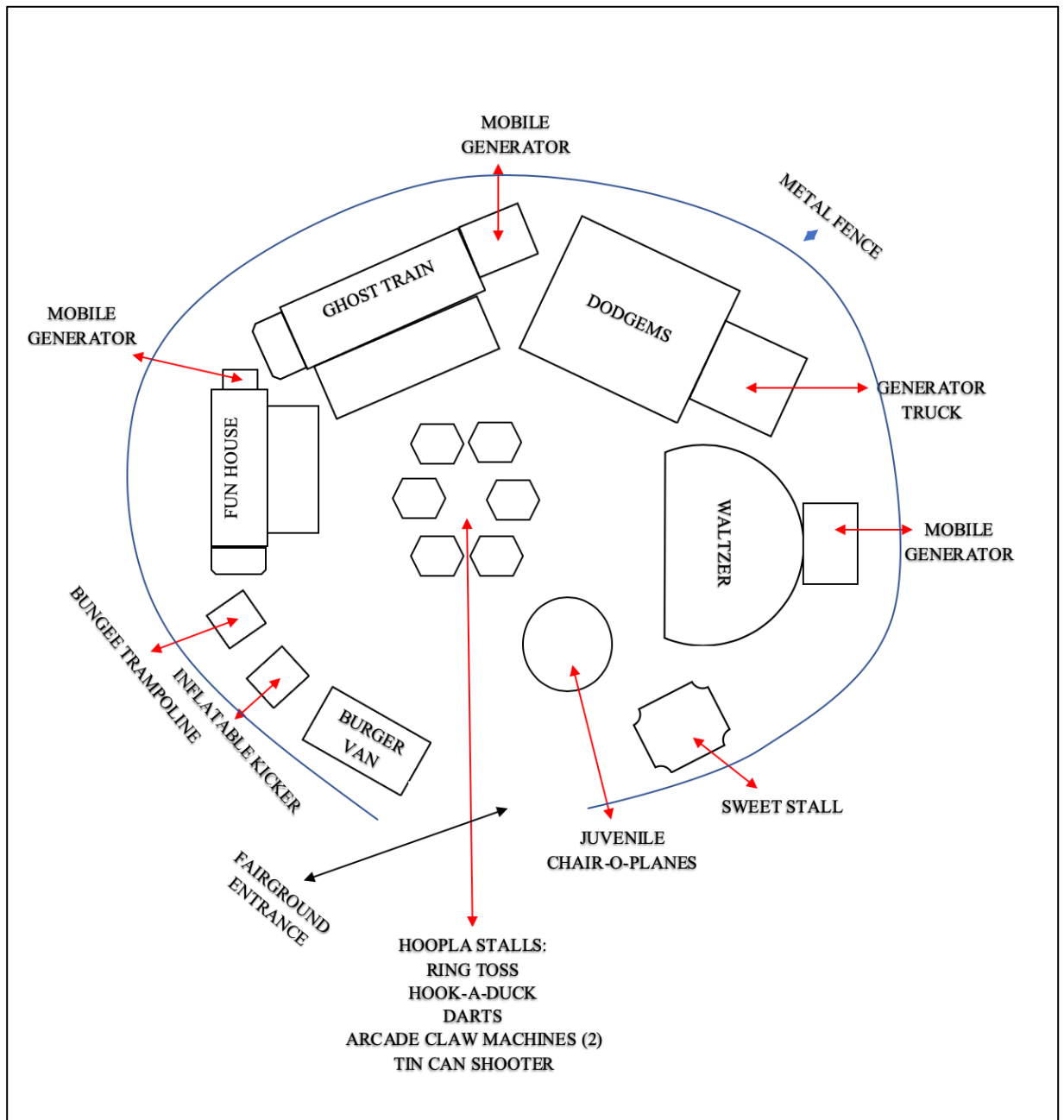


Fig. 4.2: Enclosed fairground site map – High Blantyre Funfair, 18 February 2017. Source: Author’s Own.¹⁷

¹⁷ Site map is based on sketches from field observations, ethnographic research, and photographs from fieldwork. These site maps are a reflection of the author’s perspective.

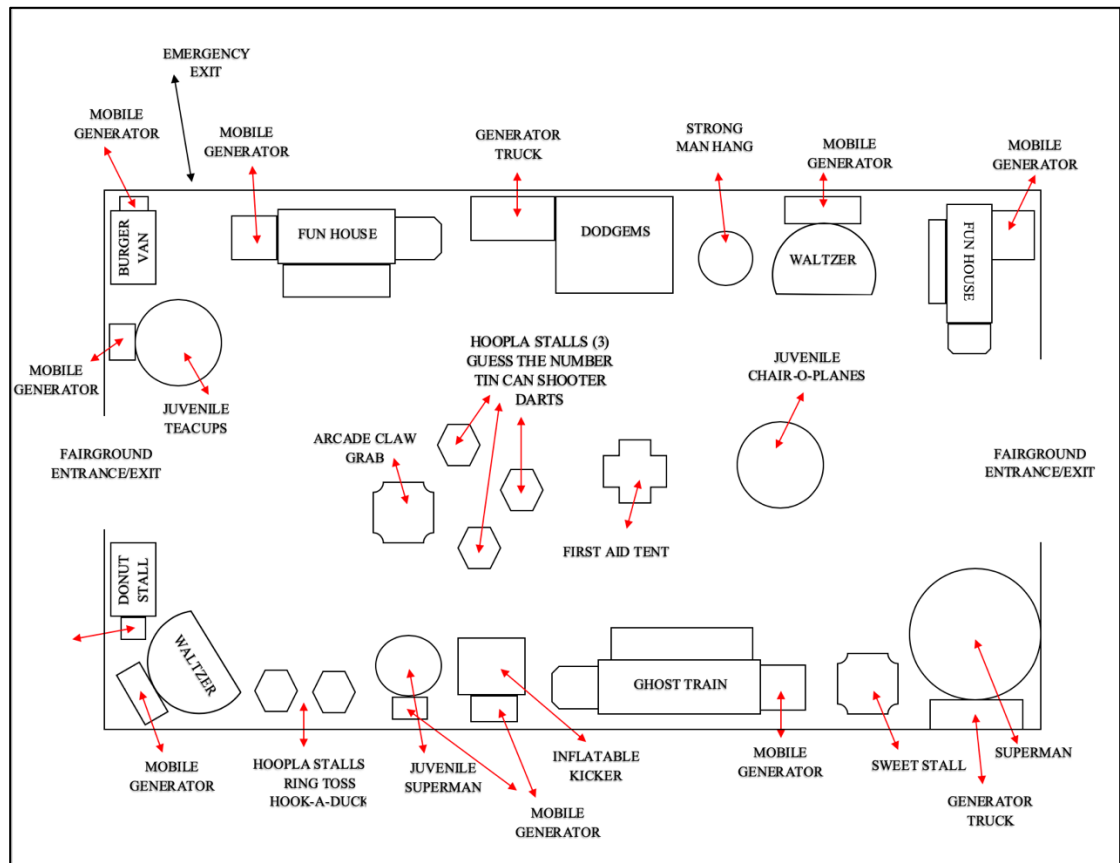


Fig.4.3: Multi-entrance funfair site map – Renfrew Funfair, 09 May 2017. Source: Author’s Own.¹⁸

Enclosed fairs, such as the High Blantyre Funfair encircle their audience, figuratively enveloping them in the atmospheres of the fair. By separating fairgoers from the surrounding environment, either using a fence or by strategically placing their lorries, these fairs have the potential to connect people in place through shared atmosphere, experience, and sensory enchantment. Distanced from everyday space, the atmosphere of the fair permeates fairgoers bodies, affecting with sensory excess. In turn, this enchantment encourages transformation emerging between bodies and the fair space, inspiring fairgoers to engage in free expressions of delight, wonder, and fear; or, any other emotion they may need to express through bodily reaction, such as screaming, shouting, crying, or laughing. In this sense, enclosed travelling fairground sites inspire natures of mystery and transgression away from the influence of the town (see also: Shields, 1991).

Conversely, a fair constructed along a thoroughfare with multiple points of entry, such as the Renfrew Funfair, potentially allows for a greater merging of site and the spaces that

¹⁸ Site map is based on sketches from field observations, ethnographic research, and photographs from fieldwork. These site maps are a reflection of the author’s perspective.

surround it, blending everyday environments with carnivalistic atmosphere and blurring boundaries between opposite worlds. Here, the fairs atmosphere and aura transgress its literal boundaries, spilling out into surrounding sedentary spaces through light, music, and motion; a literal merging of dichotomous elements (Hetherington, 1997). These different geographic spatialities serve to create distinctive site-lines and sightlines, each in their own way.

Although every fair has a different atmosphere, dependent upon the combination of rides and supporting stalls, they all follow the aforementioned rubrics for construction. The exception arises at longstanding fairs where site layout is dependent on familial and historical plot-holdings. This idea of plot-right is based on a system established in the early nineteenth century during which time families bid for the continuous right to rent particular fair plots (see also: Downie, 1998; Braithwaite, 1968). While a down payment secured plot-rights at the time, instalments are upheld and forthcoming annually in order to maintain that right:

‘We have to go back every year to the same space and pay to keep it ... otherwise it’s ‘sold’ to someone else. Even though we own it, we’ve got to pay the lessee. But it’s worth doing it, cause plots nowadays are worth a lot more ... [at] Kirkcaldy you’ve got some going for £30,000.’

(Interview excerpt. Benjamin. 31 October 2017)

This right is upheld across the majority of historic fairs, including the Kirkcaldy Links Market, St. Andrews Lammas Fair, Dumfries Rood Fair, and Glasgow Fair. As such, in addition to paying rent, Showpeople must also re-apply annually to the organising committee in order to ‘exhibit’.

At fairs of the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries, plot allocation is determined by the lessee who rents ground and arranges site according to the highest bidder: ‘Some just want to make money ... they don’t care about the [tober or the] experience ... they just want the biggest profit’ (Interview excerpt. Benjamin. 31 October 2017). Consequently, geographical constructions of site vary not only between place, but also depending on lessee; in turn, each fair produces a distinctive atmosphere and tober, capable of affecting the site and its crowds.

A further consideration (as outlined in part in ‘1.3. *Travelling fairgrounds: landscapes of operation in Scotland’s past and present*’) is to consider the construction of the tober in relation to Health and Safety. Design of a site not only depends on the physical features of land allocated by Local Authorities, but must also comply with health and safety standards as outlined by the Health and Safety Executive (UK); enforcements around cableway installation,

food hygiene standards, maximum ride capacity, as well as proof of regular [ride, joint, and hoopla] inspection are all considerations for the lessee to manage (Health and Safety Executive, 2017). These requirements, along with increasing limitations to site availability, impose multiple restrictions. Therefore, it is the lessee's job to ensure that these limitations do not impede the construction of the tober:

‘There’s a lot that goes into it ... which is why some people like it, others stay away from it. You’ve got to adhere to all these additional rules ... so you pick people you know works well together ... and ones who fit into the site you’ve been given. Sometimes it works out, sometimes not.’

(Interview excerpt. Samuel. 12 April 2017)

Notably, this makes the construction of the fair even more remarkable, when considering its ability to transform everyday space; notions further considered in ‘6.3. *Intensities of mobility: transformations of space and place*’.

Only once sites have been planned, can construction begin in an unofficial tradition carried out across all fairs: namely, set-up. Usually, a whole day is dedicated to this performative process of creating a ‘miraculous fairground tober’ (Braithwaite, 1968). First, lorries are driven, or sometimes reversed in, parking in their meticulously measured space; often tape measures are whipped out during the process to ensure their placement precisely down to the inch. Getting the lorries, generators, and living wagons into place requires a strict structure; each show-family is given a time for arrival, ensuring that lorries enter the site one-by-one. Next, rides, stalls, and hooplas are assembled by a range of gaff-lads and Showpeople. Laying the base, lifting the machine and unfolding the ride requires control and efficiency. Although each show-family is responsible for his or her own equipment: ‘there is a level of camaraderie associated with this business – if anyone ever needs anything, you go and help. The success of the fair is down to everyone’ (Interview excerpt. Jeremy. 01 March 2017). Showpeople arrive and set up in one day; every last machine (whether ride, joint, or hoopla) is rigged up and safety-checked, following government regulation to the letter. Everything is meticulously unfolded, tented-up, or pieced together following specific measurements and procedures. Materials are placed according to the lessee's design, becoming a realisation of their tober (see also: Downie, 1998). Often, enthusiasts on-site are taking photographs, staying out of the way, watching this process unfold; the audience to a live show, a performance repeated day-in and day-out across different geographical stages. Only once everything is ready to go are the generators powered to ‘light up’ the fairground and signify its official arrival and opening to the town.

4.1.2. Site-lines

The fair itself is often positioned on one side of a series of figurative and literal dichotomous frictions between inside/outside, celebratory/grotesque, and human/non-human. While traditional fairs such as the Glasgow Fair are located in the heart of town, most modern fairs have been displaced to the periphery, sitting in car parks, or on derelict land waiting to be gentrified.

As spaces of affect, enchantment, and sensory thrill, travelling fairs often directly conflict the sedentary nature of the spaces they are placed in. Empty plots of land and parks are transformed, opposite worlds of structure and uninhibited pleasure emerging at the same time. A particular example is the Larkhall Funfair (Fig. 4.4), located on the outskirts of town on a derelict plot of land beside a car park.



Fig. 4.4: On the margin. Source: Author's Own

It can be argued, that this act of marginalisation serves to 'other' the travelling fairground and Showpeople within mainstream society by placing it at the boundary between town (inside) and country (outside), with many straddling these borderlines. In challenging the sedentary arrangements of mainstream spaces, these fairs 'trouble' and transgress boundaries, defying figurative and literal constructions of the social norm as a threat to social order of society; in turn, travelling fairs are marginalised, due to associations with mobility (Hetherington, 1997). More specifically, by constructing uninhibited atmospheres, they challenge the moral

landscapes and habitus of society. As a result, these fairs, are seen to challenge everyday social conventions, thereby taking on the role of the outsidered 'folk devil'. In their peripheral placement, tensions are present between 'moral' and 'immoral' spaces, insider and outsider constructions, and nomadic and sedentary lifestyles. Arguably, their literal placement mirrors philosophical constructions of society wherein the travelling 'other' is positioned as a threat to the social norm by traversing boundaries. This in turn, solidifies it as a space located on the margins of society (Shields, 1991).

In the current climate, limited site availability accompanied by a decrease in social popularity, has resulted in the marginalisation of fairs, on both physical (literal) and social (figurative) terms. But how do place, landscape, and site define and provide the context for this experience? In line with Walker (2015: 311), I argue that the travelling fairground is 'not a site of transgression [rather] a site to be transgressed. One, which to a degree invites – incites even – its own transgression.' A site of indiscretion where 'place, body, group, identity, and subjectivity interconnect' (Stallybrass and White: 25). When the fair arrives, prevailing societal structures are re-figured; empty space is transformed by abundances of affect, generating atmosphere and experience through 'disproportionate and surprisingly large-scale surroundings out of comparatively little material' (Walker, 2015: 318). But even the creation of this tober, and the fairs miraculous capacity to transform place by 'simply' setting-up cannot prevents its marginalisation. Cresswell's (1999) mobility politics help to shape this as a mobility indicative of broader social and cultural considerations of marginalisation and opposition. Spaces permitting fairgoers to experience geographical dichotomies creating sites of misalliance: a space of carnivalesque enchantments, modernity, and 'otherness' designed to delight and charm. Its modern elements in particular, reflecting components that challenge society by doing things differently – an idea further explored in '5.1. *Taste: popular culture, class and society*'. Travelling fairgrounds cross and challenge boundaries, thereby introducing tensions between, while simultaneously fusing, *ad-hoc* carnival with social spaces of everyday performance. Site-lines then, help us to understand how fairs and Showpeople have been socially encountered over time, and how they are often discriminatorily placed on the margin.

Once the travelling fair has played its final song, danced its last dance, and twirled its last twirl, the teardown can begin. Those same gaff-lads that spun Waltzers, handed out kitsch 'swag', or terrified punters on the Ghost Train, help Showmen deconstruct the 'pleasure-land' and pack away as quickly as possible; often happening in the dead of night, as if to create the

illusion that the fair was never there at all. Everything folding and fitting together nicely (Fig. 4.5).



Fig. 4.5: Ghost Train packed away and on-the-move, Dundee, 08 August 2017. Source: Author's Own

Trucks and lorries are organised in the same way, so that they can simply 'roll-out' and unfold at the next site: 'you've got to get everything lined up the way it was. Otherwise, it doesn't work ... makes it much easier to set up the next time' (Interview excerpt. Ginger. 15 March 2017). Many will move on to another fair, while others may detour home to collect additional rides or equipment before starting the same process all over again elsewhere.

Once the fair has left, there are little traces that it was even there, circles or indentations in the grass often the only indication that something has occurred. Memories, bruises, hoarse voices, and feelings of nausea become opportunities for fairgoers to recall, reflect, and re-tell their stories to those who want to hear, or are willing to listen.

4.2. Sight: illusions and visions of the fairground

Berger (1972: 9) suggests, 'we never look at just one thing, we are always looking at the relation between things and ourselves'. Vision, as a sense, has unparalleled potentials to fashion experience; sights of visual encounter often elicit emotional responses that create lasting memories (see also: Burgin, 1996). At a travelling fair, the fairgoers [and enthusiasts] vision is

constantly bombarded, or manipulated, through colour and light, or in some cases, even its absence:

‘To my left there is a vivid pink food stand somewhat gaudy yet endearing. All in different shades – the candyfloss blush, the van magenta, the meat rosewood, and the sweets bubble-gum. To my right there is a neon-green Bavarian funhouse adorned by blue and yellow-flashing lights (Fig. 4.6). Nothing is subtle and everything is screaming for attention. Clashes of colour and style coming together to create a certain visuality.’

(Ethnographic excerpt. Kirkcaldy Links Market. 21 April 2017)



Fig. 4.6: Bavarian Funhouse, Kirkcaldy Links Market, 22 April 2017. Source: Author’s Own.

Rodaway (1994) suggests that vision involves digesting information presented visually, using our social and cultural understandings as the basis for interpreting what we see. More specifically, vision depends on our engagement with light, and as such informs how we interrogate space. With flashing lights, bodies distorted in magic mirrors, and blurred faces of fairgoers soaring through the air (etc.), the travelling fairground utilises every element of sight to its full advantage. Everything is designed to attract, to create a visual experience far-removed from daily routine.

4.2.1. Artistic vision

At the fair colour, light, darkness, shape, size, and style are used to enthrall, enchant, mesmerise, and astound. Light spreads across space and contributes to the production of [the fairs] thick atmospheres, ‘decentering the individual’ (Edensor, 2012: 1105) in affect. Electric light, in particular, defamiliarizes place, creating sensory illusions. In the 1890s fairground visitors regaled at visions of electric light: ‘people used to come to the fair just to see the electric lights ... hundreds ... just to see light’ (Interview excerpt. Romeo. 17 September 2017). During this time the fair was revered as a space of modernity, one characterised by technology and mystery. Electric light created an atmosphere indicative of potential future possibilities, forging aesthetic experience: ‘new perceptual pleasures available to people in the modern period – the technical mastery of light and sound, together with the technical shaping of materiality’ (Boehme, 2017: 62). Today, lighting at fairs is unlike anything encountered in a standard context; it is a bright, crass, loud, electrified, neon-inspired vision:

‘The only way I can think to describe this is as a visual blindness; the eye is challenged by so many different colours, movements, shapes, and sizes that it all seems to blend together. Flashing lights are flanked by rides soaring overhead and multi-coloured stands drawing you in.’

(Ethnographic excerpt. Livingston Fair. 27 July 2017)

It is ‘a technological uncanny ... producing defamiliarization, uncertainty and fascination, constitutive aspects of the modern experience’ (Collins and Jervis, 2008 in: Isenstadt, *et.al*, 2014: 59). The fairgoer is made to experience affects created by flashing, blinking, and spotlighting lights, but also through darkness. Through the use of light and dark, fairs become spaces of enchanting vision, where rides are transformed by a wealth of electric lights, a celebration of the ‘electrical sublime’ (Edensor, 2017).

Throughout the day, the fairground is illuminated, combining natural [sun]light with artificial light. Different forms of vernacular illumination generate spaces far removed from reality. At night, however, the fairground creates a different atmosphere; when darkness descends, the fairground space remains illuminated, a shining beacon of modernity and misalliance in an otherwise dark realm. This element of darkness permits electric light to create an affective atmosphere and change space. Edensor (2015a: 560) conceives darkness as a phenomenon in which forces come alive: ‘an assortment of malign spirits lurked, including imps, hobgoblins, ghouls, boggarts and witches, fuelled by shadowy appearances and phenomena such as marsh grass or will-o-the-wisp’. At the fair, ‘darkness has [long] symbolised

a diabolical ... devotion' (Koslofsky, 2011 in: Edensor, 2015a: 560) to all things dark and mysterious. In carnivalesque terms, it fosters atmospheres far-removed from accepted standards of moral society; but always through design. At night, the travelling fair feeds into its reputation: 'it can be very different ... sometimes it's not a nice environment, it can be dangerous ... something about the dark brings out danger' (Interview excerpt. Benjamin. 31 October 2017). Young adults delve headfirst into a world of excess; drugs, alcohol, or the 'high' of 'being alive', creates expressions shrouded in performances of the night. Everything becomes more vivid:

'the lights are brighter, more colourful even. Rides spin faster; people push and shove. The atmosphere has changed, shifted, become 'darker', almost. As if a direct reflection of the night. There is a new hustle and bustle. An inconsequentiality constructed and invited by the darkness.'

(Ethnographic excerpt. Braehead Fair. 12 May 2017)

As people transgress in this space, the 'dark' fair becomes a site of refuge for Edensor's (2015a) carnally inclined:

'I love the fair at night. It's just that little bit darker [socially]. It lets me be who I want to be, but can't, in the daytime. It's freeing – I don't have the same responsibilities here.'

(Interview excerpt. Lana. 03 June 2017)

These constructions mirror social interpretations of the fair, wherein both are placed at the periphery of social space, by fuelling transgression through darkness, and artificially produced light atmosphere.

Yet even in the daylight, travelling fairgrounds are thought to solicit unnerving terrors that result in transgressive behaviour through the use of illumination; the Ghost Train, for example, uses darkness with renewed vigour to recognise, revalue and celebrate its capacities:

'It's designed to scare people ... everything is in the dark, you have things jump out at you, and we even sometimes jump into the ride to cause shock. You're supposed to revel in adrenaline ... supposed to be scared. That's why it's dark.'

(Interview excerpt. Samuel. 12 April 2017)

Philips (2012) likens this use of darkness to popular Gothic culture, wherein elements of the uncanny are celebrated and come to life: it 'replicates experiences that produce anxiety ... suggest[ing] transgression and danger while remaining entirely safe' (Philips, 2012: 103). Here, darkness and light are used to mystify fairgoers, challenging their senses to adapt to

indiscriminate visualisations of light and dark. From the perspective of the Showman, darkness is an asset; a way to produce experience and atmosphere. From the perspective of the fairgoer: ‘it makes the fairground space. The best thing is being plunged into darkness ... when you can’t see, and everything jumps out at you ... it heightens [the experience]’ (Interview excerpt. Jason. 25 March 2017). I argue that although these socially ‘dark’ spaces often marginalise Showpeople, darkness remains a vital element in fashioning ambiance, and as such, is integral to the fair’s continued success.

At the same time, artificial lights have transformed experiences, used in particular circumstances to create specific effects: ‘we use the lights to make you think you’re going faster ... and to lose all sense of place. It’s a way to get them [fairgoers] to question their senses’ (Interview excerpt. Tommy. 01 March 2017). Hence, light is synonymous with atmosphere and establishments of affect. There can be ‘no experience of light without ... radiant energy... light gets inside and saturates our consciousness to the extent that it is constitutive of our own capacity to see or feel’ (Ingold, 2015: 1748). Light within the fair continuously animates its landscape, affecting the body by influencing the fairgoers capacity to see and feel. Consequently, the fair becomes an architectural ‘pleasure-land’ that facilitates sensory experience through artificial light:

‘The fair can be seen from the road; even in the daylight the lights are on, flashing and flickering. It stands out, everything around it seems insignificant compared to the bright lights of the fair.’

(Ethnographic excerpt. Kirkcaldy Links Market. 21 April 2017)

The use of illumination re-enchants ordinary spaces through encounters that render one enchanted by creating manifestations of a temporary tober. Lighting challenges ‘tensions between the material and immaterial’ (Heywood and Sandywell, 2014: 157), the representational and non-representational, physically altering the surrounding landscape. As such, light crosses boundaries, producing affect in its instability (Edensor, 2015b). Changing light creates memories in place, influencing how we encounter and experience space. In the fairground space, lights trespass boundaries, merging site with the spaces that surround it. This can be best understood through the use of a particular case study: the Waltzer (Fig. 4.7).



Stationary position – red and blue tiles reflect light from the outside. Metal design is darker as a consequence, gives it all a nightclub tone. Green light above is blinding. Light = synthetic and natural, united.



Starting to spin – yellow spotlight on side panel lights up, adding an additional element. The metal roof encapsulates light within the ride, creating a red hue. As I twist the carriage behind me comes into view. Lights on the floor light up in a red hue. Loss of natural light here – encapsulated in synthetic light.



Turning around – electric light everywhere. Floor is blue and red from the reflection of the light bulbs. Wall panels = red, blue, yellow, and orange. Lights in central post almost purple.



This is a clearer image. Red bulbs are shining brightly. Red panels reflect the carriages spinning, effect created by sunlight from the outside. Blue panels are reflecting off the floor.

Within the ride there have been glimpses of intermittent sunlight peeking through its red and blue hue. Panels and lights have reflected red, blue, purple, white, yellow, orange, and green colours created through lasers, and hued light. Colours meld well together, seemingly designed to create a ‘dark’ atmosphere reminiscent of a nightclub.

Fig. 4.7: The Waltzer – shot-by-shot recollections of light, St. Andrews Lammas Market, 13 August 2017. Source: Author’s Own.

‘I have never experienced something so dizzying, sickening, frivolous, and fun at the same time. Flashing lights, spinning, intense colour, constant motion, music blaring, spotlights: red, yellow, blue, orange, purple, all faded into one. All you can see is the person opposite you, everything else moves too quickly to recognise. I can only liken it to a flash you see in a photograph,

a constant motion that blurs your vision, yet at the same time intensifies your sight.’

(Ethnographic excerpt, St. Andrews Lammas Market, 13 August 2017)

Traditional Waltzers consist of carriages that freely-spin while revolving around a central kiosk. As the cars undulate over a track each car rotates. Bright flashing spotlights, disco music, and the rotation of the ride cause the rider to experience unique visions. Sam, a long-time waltzer lover likens it to:

‘Flying past something at such high speed that you can’t see anything at all. You’re spinning one way; the ride is going the other. The lights are flashing, they make you feel like you’re in a rave.’

(Interview excerpt. Sam. 14 April 2017)

Riding on a waltzer is an experience like no other; the whirling colours speed past, the multi-coloured lights pulsate and flash, and the surroundings all meld into one blurred image. It is not hard to understand why it is one of the most popular rides at the fair and has been since its creation in the 1930s. In all its fairground glory, it offers an unparalleled experience and embodied representation of the fair’s visual excess.

Lights shape experiences of the fairgoer by blending different visions under an illuminated glow to set the fair apart from the place it is in. These changing lights spatialise memory and so shape how we experience site. In the Waltzer, and across travelling fairs, space is reconfigured through electric light, which often creates ‘defamiliarization, uncertainty, and fascination’ (Edensor, 2011: 55). Across the fair space, electric light and darkness plunge fairgoers into worlds of sensory enchantment, re-enchanting [socially constructed] abject space by generating new affective atmospheres in these wastelands; drawing from ‘popular rituals, craft traditions and vernacular creativity’ (Edensor, 2017: 69) these uses of light and dark re-animate space.

4.2.2. Visions of art

The travelling fair formulates intoxicating sights by creating visual experiences unimagined by, and unbelievable to, most. Throughout history, fairground artistry has played a significant role in delivering these experiences. Until the 1980s fairgrounds showcased a delicate artistry: hand-crafted signage, lettering, and imagery served to display Showpeople’s skilled craft. However, changing popular cultural trends have frequently generated new interests, so now airbrush imagery is the dominant decorative form of funfair artistry (Fig. 4.8).



Fig. 4.8: Airbrush artistry on the ‘Superbob’. Maryhill Funfair. 14 April 2017. Source: Author’s Own

Vivid greens, blues, yellows, reds, oranges and pinks are combined in a spray-painted style to depict scenes of fantasy that find their roots in magic or fantasy (Philips, 2012). These images are versatile in nature, designed to stimulate and attract: ‘science fiction is a popular theme ... it’s handy cause it’s not specific that means it’s likely not to go out of style’ (Interview excerpt. Albert. 12 November 2017). These colours and designs represent the artistic visions of Showpeople who create figures of intrigue: visions of the future, unknown and far-removed from reality, such as cyclops robots, hoverboarding Martians, or scantily clad dominatrices. This style of art represents a ‘*stoffwechsel*’ or change of sorts, complementing the modern fairground aesthetic (Walker, 2018). Fairground materials are afforded an aesthetic power capable of fashioning affective experiences through diverse artistic representations. Traditions of artistry are shared between and across families; children are taught from an early age how to design traditional and modern styles. While artwork and design are generally outsourced to those specialising in fine detail, families pride themselves on their ability to design stories that enhance the fairs affective potentials.

Throughout the fair’s cultural progression and growth, visual experience has been subject to, and dependent on, changes in popular culture. Fairground art is a particularly important element of the fair, though one sometimes overlooked by fairgoers. Yet, the travelling fair has always employed the use of vivid colour, intricate carvings, and sparkling lights to

enchant their audience (NFCA, 2020). For Showpeople, it is a revered element of their trade and an additional way to create the illusion and spectacle that the fair does so well. Throughout history, the fairground landscape has become a site of social reflection – each piece of artistry telling a story of its very own. Changes in popular culture, artistry, and application technique have developed parallel to societal progression and expectation, while also mirroring advances in technology. As the National Fairground and Circus Archive states: ‘fairground art depicts a fascinating evolution of art within popular culture at the heart of the entertainment industry’ (NFCA, 2020). Beyond its enchanting quality, the fair’s artistry has also served a commercial purpose, namely, advertising the fair as a source of pleasure. It is particularly the fair’s use of popular imagery that has solidified its ‘acceptance’ as a form of popular entertainment (NFCA, 2020).

Developed in the Victorian era as a central feature of the fairground, different styles of art have long played an important role in attracting visitors and in crafting experience. Original forms of fairground art were used to advertise sideshow attractions, in the form of fabric banners (Fig. 4.9).



Fig. 4.9: Relic sale with sideshow banner, 1984. David Cheverill. Reproduced with permission from the National Fairground and Circus Archive, University of Sheffield.

The versatile nature of these banners allowed them to be decorated to any design and made transport easier due to their ability to be folded or rolled-up and stored (DFHC, 2020). During the time of the sideshow they were primarily used to depict detailed scenes of fantasy or fairy-tale, or to advertise the wonders that lay behind the showfront curtain:

‘The sign said ‘Man-eating fish! The greatest show you’ve ever seen’ ... or words to that effect. But you were made to believe that there was a great big shark waiting for you behind that curtain.’

(Interview excerpt. Peter. 17 March 2017)

The biggest and most ornate banners were displayed prominently: ‘They would be hung along the top of the stage and around the entry curtain to create illusion’ (Interview excerpt. Peter. 17 March 2017). In this way, they could be used to the Showman’s advertising and illusion-forging advantage (NFCA, 2020; DFHC, 2020).

At the onset of the Industrial Revolution, advancements in technology and transport incited a change in artistry: ‘that’s when wood became popular – everything was intricate and detailed. You’d have master creators carving gallopers, roses ... everything’ (Interview excerpt. Peter. 17 March 2017). However, while the industrial revolution inspired a change in medium, artistic subject matter initially remained the same, ‘depicting complex heroic and monumental scenes executed to high levels of artistic competence and taste’ (NFCA, 2020). As the Victorian era progressed and communities grew accustomed to ornate artistic styles such as sculpture, etching, and romanticism, so did the demand for newfound forms of fairground artistry. Simultaneously, the advance of technology encouraged competition between Showpeople, inspiring them to create majestic marvels. This era saw the rise of several staple fairground features, including delicate carousel horses (Fig. 4.10), carriages, and scrollwork (Jones, 2013). During this period, the travelling fair experienced a significant increase in popularity, itself becoming a feature of popular entertainment.

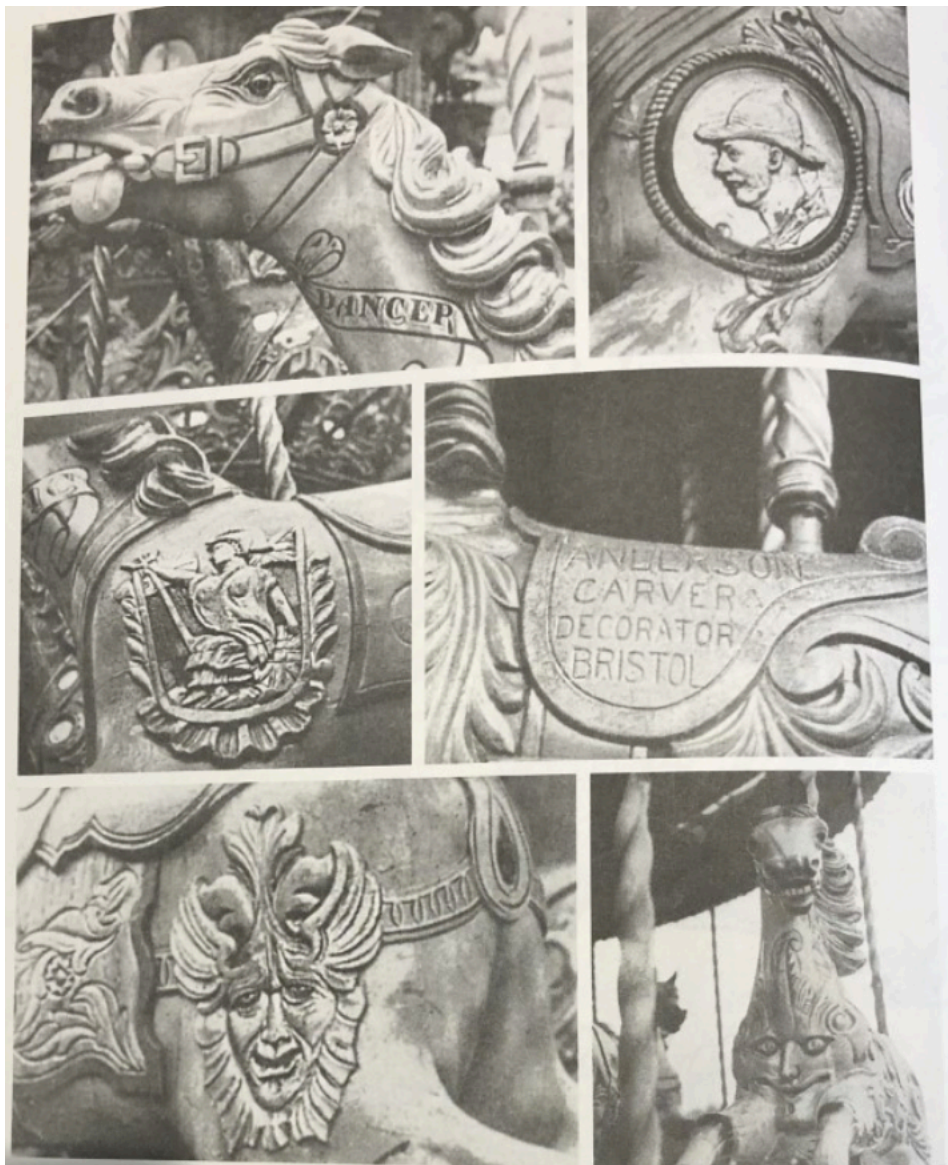


Fig. 4.10: ‘A collection of gallopers with richly-carved and all-over ornament: the head of ‘Dancer’; some forgotten colonial hero; a patriotic emblem of Britannia and three Union Jacks; Anderson’s signature on one of his horses; and, perhaps the most remarkable is the unexpected grotesque mask on the throat of a horse.’ Source: Jones, 2013: 38.

Artwork signified status and talent; as such, most Showmen created intricate wooden carvings and filigree detailing by hand to enhance their visual aesthetic (Fig. 4.11)



Fig. 4.11: Hand-carved Thomas' family organ and carousel horses. 1997. Reproduced with permission from the Thomas Family

The intricate carvings of the Thomas' family organ and horses, for example, represent a type of vernacular art that can only be replicated by Showpeople; a level of craftsmanship inherited, crafted, and celebrated. An artistry coined by Barbara Jones (2013: 27) as a 'demountable Baroque'; a visual celebration of craft and history amalgamated with modern technologies of the fair. Reflecting 'Baroque, Rococo, and Byzantine' (Braithwaite, 1968: 111) inspirations and artforms, the fair 'became unique to everyone – they were all mesmerized ... different understandings, memories, experiences' (Interview excerpt. Peter. 17 March 2017). Fairground art became a critical feature of creating spectacle and illusion, 'aimed at presenting the best, most unique and breath-taking experience' designed to showcase the unknown (NFCA, 2020).

At the onset of the twentieth century, ornate and detailed wood carvings were replaced by paintings of a high standard, much easier to adapt to current trends. However, it was not until the 1930s when changes in art and design, to Modernism and Dadaism, inspired changes across the fairground scene. Art-deco in particular, simplified the fairs artistry, depicting clean lines, marking a shift in popular culture to geometric pattern (NFCA, 2020).

Post-war culture led to a re-design of the fair, reflecting shifts in demographic from bourgeoisie to 'class-less' mod-rocker cultures of society. Paintwork depicted mechanical imageries focusing on motorbikes and speed stripes (NFCA, 2020). This artistry was also

accompanied by a significant shift in fairground music; a feature discussed further in section '7.1. Sound: sensory manifestations of the travelling fairground'. During the 1950s, the fair also witnessed a rise in space-themed art, inspired primarily by the Space Race and subsequent moon landing (NFCA, 2020). With each new piece of art, Showmen captured all forms of social conversation, emphasizing current social developments and technological advancements.

Between the 1960s and the 1980s there was a significant move away from imagery towards 'flamboyant scroll and lettering work' (NFCA, 2020). The 1980s also saw a shift in medium reflected in the development of airbrush artistry. This new tool permitted the creation of detailed paintings on a large scale, and so was born a vibrant and full-scale trend. More specifically, this style reflected desires and demands of modern consumers inspired by fantasy and wonder. Showpeople engendered a new artform – the eruption of erotic imagery, depicting scantily-clad women amidst scenes of fantastical nature (Fig. 4.12).

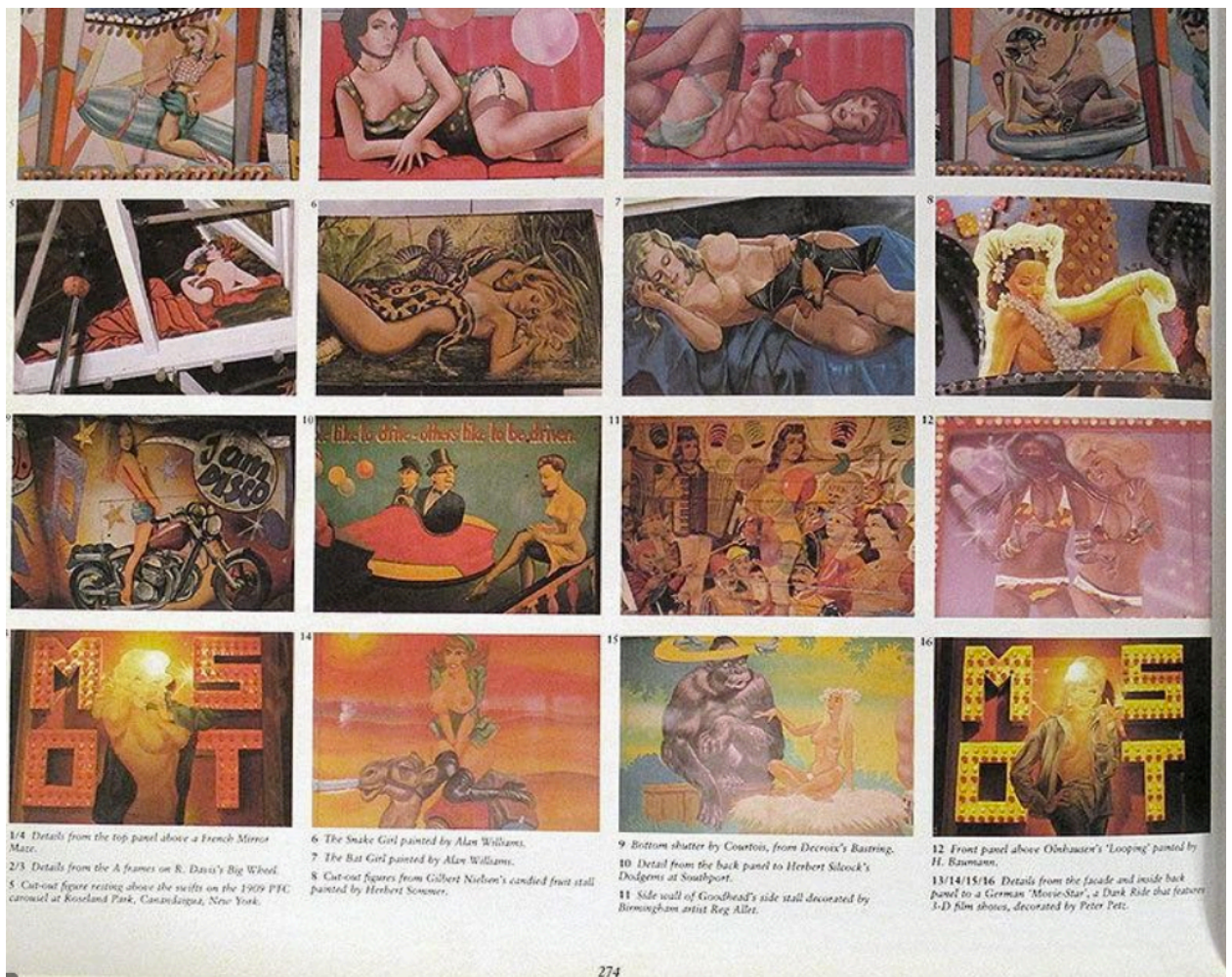


Fig. 4.12: Fairground art: womanhood extraordinaire. Source: Weedon and Ward, 2004: 274

These gendered depictions of sexualised femininity reflected trends of similar production in society, found often in Music Videos and popular films (for example, the James Bond franchise). However, it must be noted, that in the fairground these images were used predominantly as methods of enticing a younger clientele; at the time, much of Showpeople's business was generated by young males, frequenting fairground establishments in search of a heady rush.

At the same time, the rise of Disney popularity, resulted in a nation-wide adoption of Disney-themed imagery as a popular iconography, repeatedly produced across juvenile rides (Fig 4.13): 'it's a classic design ... who doesn't love a bit of Disney. And the princess stories, or even Mickey Mouse ... they're timeless' (Interview excerpt. Josephine. 11 April 2017).



Fig. 4.13: Disney-themes juvenile roundabout. Glasgow. 1977. Reproduced with permission from the Thomas Family.

Minnie Mouse with her red bow, the seven dwarfs with their signature floppy caps, or more recently Elsa from Frozen in her sparkling blue dress, adorn rounding boards of juvenile rides across Scotland; their traditional artistry are easy to identify in a sea of modern fantasy.

Today, travelling fairs continue to retain a unique approach to artistry and its implementation, though providing aesthetically pleasing scenarios is still a central feature of the trade. Most recent forays into art feature airbrush designs of different styles and since the 1980s have been more tailored to suit the ambiance of the rides. Traditional Merry-go-rounds, for

example, continue to show-off Baroque carvings, though occasionally showcase modern themes. In comparison, art on Waltzers or Dodgems has been adapted to suit the changing technologies of the rides. Rides geared towards thrill-seekers often implement artistry and colour palettes that can be enhanced by electric light – i.e. bright colours and simple designs (see also: NFCA, 2020). Meanwhile, rides designed to loop through the air, often blast bass-heavy music. More recently, there has also been a trend towards including celebrities in artwork, though this is much less common than the inclusion of film characters; in the last five years there has been a significant increase in film franchise art, such as Marvel’s Avengers, or DC’s Justice League. That being said, at the modern fair, the popularity of graphics and visual imagery has been on a steady decline. While dynamic character inspired artwork is of vital importance on children’s rides, the thrill ride has turned its focus to corporeal experience:

‘People don’t pay attention to the art anymore – it’s not like with children ... they see something and are attracted by the character. But adults, even teenagers, they’re there for the experience. They want to feel something, not see it.’

(Interview excerpt. Benjamin. 31 October 2017)

Although artwork is arguably no longer the fairs ‘primary’ source of entertainment, visual aesthetic and design continue to play an important role in generating atmosphere. Intricate design and decorative artistry can mean the difference between success and failure:

‘all aspects of our work are important – it’s not just about the showmanship. If the hoopla doesn’t look right, or it’s the wrong design, then you’re not going to get any punters.’

(Interview excerpt. Peter. 29 February 2017)

Consequently, the majority of Showpeople implement visual artistry to enhance the full-body experience.

Every day, fairgrounds present intricate artistries to bring the fair alive. People from all walks of life are transported to a world of amusement, pleasure and mysticism. For a moment, they lose themselves in the ‘magical’ atmospheres of the fair. It is a phenomenon designed to enchant from every angle. Illusory objectification – material reflections of memory – is experienced across the fair through representations of artistry; an ‘imagined’ reality of memory and enchantment rooted in their capacity to blur divisions between the corporeal and material (Walker, 2018). The fair’s eclectically visual style serves to transcend limitations imposed by social confinement, creating a powerful and self-contained visuality; a blaze of light, colour,

and motion, a representation of vitality that distorts space, projecting affects into atmosphere and constructing illusory objectification.

4.2.3. Sightlines

But what you see depends on your line of sight [and perspective], with the fairgoer, enthusiast, and Showperson encountering and constructing different visions of the same place. It can be argued, that perhaps, the enthusiast sees the most, bridging the gap between Showperson and fairgoer:

‘we see things you’re not meant to ... manufacturer plates, electricity cables running from the truck, just the behind-the-scenes stuff you don’t see [as a fairgoer] ... on top of seeing what they see.’

(Interview excerpt. Othello. 29 April 2017)

Enthusiasts go beyond the thoroughfare, step outside of the hustle and bustle, to notice and engage with living wagons, articulated lorries, generators, and the like (Fig. 4.14); while also glimpsing rides spinning punters through the air, distinct expressions of happiness or frustration, as well as traditions of blagging and performance.



Fig. 4.14: Behind the scenes ‘roadway’. Alloa Spring Family Fun Fair. 29 April 2017. Source: Author’s Own

Some arrive before the fair to observe processes of construction and once it has finished watch in awe as it is torn down and packed away before moving on; thereby, seeing both the labour behind it and the spectacle it can be (see also: Trowell, 2019). Often, enthusiasts are hidden behind the lens of the camera, snap-happy, only breaking composure or form to have a sip of tea or a treat from one of the food kiosks. Some, though not all, are participant observers, getting stuck-in: ‘I always go on the waltzer ... it gives you the best perspective – you see inside and out ... the workings and the experience’ (Interview excerpt. Hamlet. 07 December 2017). In this space, enthusiasts experience visions of their own; designed by their own making and rooted in their particular interests. This means that each ‘type’ of interest enables the enthusiast to experience a different field of vision, and thus a unique sensory experience.

Fairgoers, meanwhile, have sightlines that are moulded by the fair; we see what we are meant to: a carefully constructed site of frivolity and fun designed to draw us in. With every new step we take, a new sightline appears:

‘There are people everywhere. That’s what I notice most immediately; a sea of people. When I look straight ahead, I can see the main thoroughfare, rides and joints flanking it on either side. Immediately to my left is a juvenile superman adorned with Elsa and Anna’s faces. To my right is a hook-a-duck stall, adorned with colourful swag and bright blue signage (Fig. 4.15).’

(Ethnographic excerpt. Springburn Funfair. 14 May 2017)



Fig. 4.15: Hook-A-Duck 'swag', Kirkcaldy Links Market, 22 April 2017. Source: Author's Own.

Whether on the ground, in the air, in the light, or in the dark, what we see depends inherently on where we are and what we are doing [standing, sitting, or playing]. We are conditioned to see all the attractions; to experience this cacophony of colourfully eclectic visualities. We see varying shapes and colours, noticing only what we want. Many fairgoers will remember the experiences they had, and revel in the prizes they won, cherishing these as memories. Few, however, will recognise that the sights they saw changed this experience; this is an untold secret and intrinsic ability of the fair: to unconditionally and unconsciously enchant and mesmerise, leaving little but a memory. However, there is also a lot we don't see,

strategically ‘hidden’ or removed from sight to preserve the illusion of the tober; these mysteries serving to position the fair as unknowable, removed from everyday structures.

Showpeople, meanwhile, have sightlines of their own. The fair is both the backdrop to their everyday life, as well as a place of business. It represents a divergence between public and private space (Goffman, 1990); their daily lives exposed and laid bare in the fairground site. The walk along the thoroughfare thereby also enacting a vision into the Showperson’s private world; a glimpse into living traditions and cultural heritage enacted and performed across blurred spaces. In the fair space, their persona is dependent on what role they have taken on, while at home they represent parents, children, and spouses. Consequently, their sightlines combine everyday experiences of sleeping, washing dishes, eating, and being with family in caravans or living wagons, while also encompassing elements of construction and performance:

‘You set-up all day ... then you’ve got the show for however many days you’re there ... you’ve got to be the boss, but also the [performer] ... the one who blags. At the same time, you’ve also got to be dad.’

(Interview excerpt. Samuel. 28 March 2017)

At home, the chaos of the fair is replaced by everyday interactions with family and friends, as well as the completion of chores; here, Showpeople experience sights and play out actions of everyday life away from the thoroughfare. But when the fair rolls in, and the action begins, their sightlines change; they become performers who engage with a myriad of fair-going publics. Toulmin (2009) maintains that this identity is constructed in order to change the way the audience perceives and experiences the fairground: ‘Showmen constructed a public identity ... for their exhibits, devising a narrative and a history.’ (Toulmin, 2009: 126). At work, they see adults and children rush by, shoe soles of punters as they soar through the air, close-ups of faces covered in ketchup, and many expressions of glee, terror, elation, or nausea. But for much of the day they see only the material structures of their ride, the swag waiting to be won, or the resounding lack of visitors: ‘... sometimes just Showmen. There are days where it’s empty and you’re just left standing.’ (Interview excerpt. Benjamin. 31 October 2017). Although there is a separation of sorts, often these spaces merge: ‘you don’t just forget about it. You’re sleeping there and you’ve got to think about tomorrow’ (Interview excerpt. Louisa. 12 November 2017). For Showpeople, this space is their life; their sightlines converging home and work, and all the emotions and visions that come with it.

This separation, and also melding of space, can be best explained as front-of-house and back-of-house geographies; Goffman’s (1990) spatially constructed dichotomy represented

through dramaturgical performance before an audience. The front region being the place where the performance is given, and the back region as an area for the ‘true’ self to appear (Goffman, 1990). In both spaces, Showpeople [and fairgoers] are shaped by repeated patterns and processes. At the travelling fair front-of-house performances maintain and embody entertainment. Extended engagement with the audience is visualised through blagging and the process of performing. Meanwhile the back-of-house region allows for elements of everyday life to be enacted; everyday performances hidden from the fair-going audience. However, I argue that at the fair these opposing spaces merge, creating an overlap between the public realms of the fair with the private lives of Showpeople; by extension, transgressing their personalities on the same plane.

Across the fair space nobody has the same sightlines; shared activities are seen and experienced from contrasting and complementary angles of site. These individual and combined performances and encounters situate fairgoers in a site whereby: ‘the fairground ... offer[s] the potential to develop links between past and present landscape’ (Corbin, 2002: 227). In bringing these spaces to life through corporeal engagement and active performance, past atmospheres are merged with modern landscapes, thereby permitting history to be encountered in real time. This allows fairgoers, Showpeople, and enthusiasts to make memories, produced through engendered affect (Legg, 2004); in itself, an integral element of the fair.

4.3. Geographies of site and sight

Sight and site play a vital role in creating memories and vernacular experiences. Different fairs create distinctly individual atmospheres, and thus, unique sights and sites. Over time evolution within the fairground space has undergone multiple changes and advances. Influences from, and the acknowledgement of, modernity has resulted in a more accessible and challenging sensory site. Accordingly, Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds have established themselves as sites of amusement where multi-sensory stimulation is the driving force of atmosphere and experience.

Empirically and ontologically, site and sight are intertwined. The constructions of site, and more explicitly the purposeful creation of atmosphere, engender visual experiences rooted in uses of light and art. Devised according to precise rubrics, and historic influence, these sites are designed to visually stimulate. Simultaneously, these very visions feed back into the ambiance of the fair, shaping space as a multi-sensory environment; one intrinsically connected through feeling. At its very core, the fair site enables and assembles sights of popular culture, communicated principally through light and art. Beyond these materialities, it also allows for an

understanding of the self; a way to engage with and understand how vision is intrinsic to shaping our experiences and understandings of site. By that same token, we must also acknowledge that fairground spaces serve to obscure or represent particular cultural sights through social, political, and cultural influences. Ontologically, we can also surmise that the fairs spatial and visual constructions represent reflections and cultural configurations of broader political and social organisations. Here, bridging visual geographies (see also: Rodaway, 1994; Rose, 2014; and, Edensor, 2015b, 2017) with geographies of marginality (Sibley, 1983) help to sediment this ontological overlap. Visual engagement is shaped by light, in turn shaping how we emotionally connect with space. In seeing we reflect on our own social and cultural understandings to mediate encounters with surrounding environments. Light fuses representational and non-representational atmospheres: ‘the non-human transforms the familiar material world, changing the form and texture of objects, eroding their assigned meanings, and blurring the boundaries between things’ (Edensor, 2015b: 318). Sights and sites converge to create affective encounters between bodies and place. In this way, theories of sight and site find their grounding and crossover in geographies of affect and light; acting as a conduit for bringing site and sight together. In particular, atmosphere is figured as a ‘co-presence’ of sorts, a resulting effect of interaction between material objects (lights) and immaterial subjects (spaces) (Edensor, 2017). As such, fairgoers, Showpeople, and enthusiasts each encounter and experience these spaces in unique and distinctive ways, participating on different registers across particular spaces.

The spatial organisation of fairs, their boundary-crossing existence, as well as ‘over-the-top’ lights and artistry, challenge conventional constructions of the social norm. Geographically, we can consider this relationship as one experienced and showcased through different visual phenomena and individual sightlines. New modes of modernity [urbanisation and technological industrialisation] have fostered novel understandings of spaces as shaped by their desire and ability to transform site. In its spatial and visual representation, the fairground becomes a site of titillation wherein a sensory overload is generated through corporeal engagement and memory, changing the way site is approached. These manifestations and experiences of site and sight reveal the fairground as a sensory playground; a site designed to incite a visual transgression.

Chapter 5. Taste and Taste: Cultures and flavours of the fair

Scotland's travelling fairgrounds transform conventional sites of routinised practice into spaces of curiosity, enchantment, and enthusiasm. A particular source of sensory stimulation stems from the tastes of the fairground. For the purposes of this chapter, the concept of taste is defined bifold; firstly as: 'the ability to make discriminating judgments about aesthetic and artistic matters' (Ollivier and Fridman, 2001, in: Smelser and Baltes, 2001: 15442) and secondly as: a 'sensory response to soluble materials in the mouth[,] but also aesthetic appreciation' (Amerine, *et.al*, 1965: 28). To avoid a reductive or defensive approach, I also note additional interpretations and discussions of taste; see also: Rodaway (1994); and Friedberg (2010) among others. However, when thinking about Scotland's travelling fairgrounds, I lobby the aforementioned definitions of taste to be the most appropriate within the remits of this thesis. Throughout, I reason that the relationship between taste and taste provides the grounding for sensory perception; to this end, I explore haptic and cultural 'tastes' as fundamental elements of the fairground, particularly where popular culture shapes aesthetic indulgences of the fairground space.

Cultural taste has long structured society's desires, somatic tastes, and judgments; thus, moulding Scotland's travelling fairgrounds in terms of regard *and* in relation to changing aesthetic trends. Therefore, '5.1. *Taste: popular culture, class, and society*' analyses the travelling fairs cultural and social creation to understand its sensory atmospheres and experiences. Engaging with theories of taste offers the basis from which to provide an analytical account of the historical development of the fair, as well as its current cultural representations. In looking at fairground development and Showpeople's encounters with place, this subsection argues for a version of popular culture that changes the ways travelling fairground sites and spaces are encountered. Additionally, this chapter introduces ideas around the role of cultural tastes present in generating memory, affect, and somatic taste.

Haptic taste, also referred to throughout as somatic or gustatory taste, is integral to understanding fairground atmosphere. Specifically, this chapter argues that fairground cuisine, serving to make taste buds tingle, mouths water, and appetites to grow voracious, evokes particular memories generated by sensory stimulants. Ranging from bright pink candyfloss, and larger-than-life burgers and hot-dogs, to crunchy apples coated in thick layers of sweet toffee sauce, each food item heightens imaginings of the fairground as a space where indulgence and excess are entertained. Hence, the following chapter subsections have their own substantial foci: '5.2.1. *The toffee apple*', '5.2.2. *Popcorn*', '5.2.3. *Candy floss*', all speaking to the relationship

between haptic taste, memory, and nostalgia. This chapter attempts to define gustatory taste materially in a fairground setting, as well as consider relevant theories around haptic taste and sensory experience to examine the changing fairground landscape.

Ethnographic research, supported by oral histories, archival sources, and photographs, provide the basis for a narrative that reveals the manifold cultural and somatic tastes of the travelling fair. This chapter has been designed to engage with what are, on the one hand the most substantial and on the other non-representational (or more-than-representational), geographies of these fairground spaces. Consequently, it argues that in its formulation of tastes, the fairground becomes a site of aesthetic affect. Sensory excess, and experiential overload are generated through the pairing of two forms of taste that evoke nostalgia, creating a corporeal relationship with memory that changes the way fair is approached. Analysing concepts of nostalgia, this chapter further discusses how changing tastes are reflected in the types of food encountered, as well as by the content of fairs today; in its essence reflecting a circular relation.

5.1. Taste: popular culture, class, and society

Taste as a social and cultural construct has powerful capabilities in terms of shaping experiences of place. Social and cultural norms have long influenced how we encounter, understand, and engage with space; consequently, shaping not only our desires and demands, but also our cultures and traditions. At the travelling fairground, Showpeople, enthusiasts, and fair-going publics are thrust together in a space of affect, amusement, and atmosphere; in its intensities, the travelling fairground demands that the tober is designed to create an opulent experience far-removed from daily practices. What makes it so exceptional is the amalgamation of social classes and tastes in its very existence; tangentially reflected in material manifestations of food, artwork, and prizes (swag), among other elements. In order to understand the tastes of the fair, this subsection claims that throughout its creation and progress the travelling fairground has reflected various displays of class culture. Finally, it reasons that Scotland's modern travelling fairs go beyond Bourdieu's (1984) respective understandings of taste as a reflection of class-culture and instead represent a popular culture that brings Bakhtin's (1968) ideas of the carnivalesque to life, breaking social barriers of taste in the process.

Travelling fairs have always been reliant on the evolution of cultural taste; their history and design display a cultural aesthetic that has long served to allure, mesmerise, and enthrall their audience. It is an enigmatic phenomenon with its own inimitable atmosphere; a 'pop-up' space that temporarily transforms and affects places and people. From a Scottish perspective,

many historically significant events, like the famous fairs at Kelvnhall and Kirkcaldy Links Market, or its first theatres and cinemas, can be traced to the tight knit community of Showpeople.

From the early 1300s to early 1950s, Scotland's travelling fairs were a primary source of entertainment, over the years adapting to popular cultural trends. Jeremy, a former Showman, and keen connoisseur of the trade speaks of emerging popular trends:

‘Disney, Disco, Metal ... bright colours, loud motifs ... we’ve always incorporated elements of pop-culture, cause it’s what they [fairgoers] want. But at the same time, we’ve been pioneers ... always giving them what they want before they want it.’

(Interview excerpt. Jeremy. 01 March 2017)

Before its conception as a trade in its own right, Showpeople and their acts served to unite people through the medium of performance, bringing together trading merchants, performers, and local consumers.

However, as fairs progressed, segregation and class-culture developed as constitutive aspects of their being, appearing in the thirteenth century when Royal Charters resulted in a change of audience. Contrary to Bourdieu's beliefs that ‘those learned in legitimate culture would not partake in such a scene ... for it was too easily accessed, commonly understood, and simple’ (Ashwood and Bell, 2016: 623), early travelling fairs attracted a social elite, due to their affiliation with the Crown. It was this relationship, and ‘seal of approval’ that fascinated bourgeoisie crowds. Peter, a retired fourth-generation Showman recalls a notable occasion:

‘My great-great-grandmother and her sisters performed for the queen ... at the Royal show they took their sideshow and routine to the palace [Balmoral] and did a number for her ... To go to a fair, you were an elite.’

(Interview excerpt. Peter. 29 February 2017)

As fairs increasingly became spaces of performance, and ties to the Royal Charter were severed, travelling fairgrounds arose as easily accessible spaces of culture extending well beyond the social ‘elite’ (Bourdieu, 1984, in: Ashwood and Bell, 2016).

Projected film, in particular, changed the way fairs were encountered; the creation of films such as ‘*The Blacksmith*’ (1986) (Toulmin, 1994: 221), which focused on local people, drew in working-class crowds enticed by the idea of seeing themselves on the ‘big’ screen. Martha, a long-term fairgoer recalls the emotions recounted by her grandmother, a one-time star in a fairground film:

‘It was an honour ... everyone wanted to be in those films. It made her [grandmother] feel special ... it was something out of the ordinary ... maids were staff, so this was unlike anything else.’

(Interview excerpt. Martha. 08 October 2017)

Arguably, a move that resulted in deterring the ‘social elite’ disinclined to socialise with or watch films about the working-class; perhaps, even indicative of the definitive and determining social class structures of rural society at the time.

By ‘the nineteenth century attractions such as theatrical booths, waxworks, and ‘freak shows’ began to dominate the fairground’ (NFCA, 2020); during this time, wild animals were debuted cross-country in menagerie performances. Andrew, an avid enthusiast, recalls the moment he first laid eyes on this phenomenon: ‘I couldn’t understand ... wild beasts from jungles [now] in Glasgow. Tigers in the flesh. You can’t even begin to imagine. A pure culture-shock ...’ (Interview excerpt. Andrew. 08 September 2017). It was a time designed to transform the audience, turning ‘idle flaneurs into ... more serious gazers, wondering of the somewhat vague promises of the entrance were about to be fulfilled’ (Hoffman, 2006: 140-141). Though intriguing, the curiosities portrayed in these establishments were deemed vulgar by particular social classes who did not wish to be acquainted with lowlier expressions of taste: ‘they were too common for the highbrow ... too much vulgarity, not enough class.’ (Interview excerpt. Samuel. 12 April 2017). This socially segregated viewership replaced aesthetic class with sensual, palpable desire. Ergo, there is an argument to be made here for understanding popular culture as a manifestation of Bakhtin’s (1968) ‘carnavalesque’; these sideshows inspired free expression, eccentric behaviour, and arguably, ‘blasphemous’ acts of the monstrous – actions wholly unsanctioned by the bourgeois. Fair spaces became transgressive, challenging imposed moralities of the social elite. Freak shows and menageries questioned societies understandings of humanity, likening the human body to monstrous beings. Fears of moral transgression shaped these spaces, contributing to their marginalisation in society.

Conversely, the end of the Victorian era saw a change in the fairground landscape as a mechanical ‘pleasure-land’, both modern and futuristic. Desire for new corporeal sensations in the twentieth century, generated an innovative materiality rooted in technology. This taste of modernity inspired a new era and consequently brought with it an avant-garde audience. Jack, a veteran Showman, recalls:

‘technology challenged everything. They had never seen anything like it, so people were all on the same footing. There was no class [division] – everyone

wanted to experience it. Didn't matter where you came from, [or] what you did ... this was something to be experienced.'

(Interview excerpt. Jack. 10 April 2017)

Latterly, the modern fair and its technological innovations broke class barriers to form a social space of its own.

At this stage, and before I move on to consider the broader geographies of taste, I argue it is important to acknowledge and reaffirm the different social forces at work, and more importantly, the specific chronology associated with them:

- i. Class division is associated with the earliest fairs through sanction afforded by the Royal imprimatur.
- ii. Greater class division emerges as the fair is associated with bawdiness of popular culture and base tastes, and possibly enforced by the existing and strictly demarcated class lines of Scottish rural society.
- iii. General cross-class appeal in the modern era with the novelty of mechanised attractions and rides.

Across this progressive production of Scotland's fairground landscape popular cultural trends have formed enchantments rooted in visceral, emotional, and affective experience (Woodyer and Geoghegan, 2014). Both human and non-human materials have generated enchantment through expressions of popular entertainment, bridging gaps between nature and machine, to determine and shape cultural taste. At the fairground, taste is dependent on 'the pleasure actors find in crossing social boundaries, inspired by the social relations of place' (Ashwood and Bell, 2016: 626). Fairgoers cross social boundaries, challenging figurative limitations of social class. Here, we can figure travelling fairs as pop-up spaces of innovation and design; in exemplifying changing traditions of popular culture and taste, they demonstrate a creativity from the ground up (Edensor, *et.al*, 2009). One that historically challenged attitudes and accepted behaviours of society.

Though, not all tastes are shaped in experience: 'place shapes diverse social ties at all levels of economics, education and age' (Ashwood and Bell, 2016: 622); thus, it is not taste that shapes experiences of place, but rather that place, in this case temporality of the fairground scene, shaped the taste of the fairgoers. For Alfred's family, taste was forged by place-related experience:

'My father and his whole family went together to see the first electric light bulb. He said there were more people than had been to any fair before ... That

night, the atmosphere was electric, and it didn't matter who you were, everyone was enthralled.'

(Interview excerpt. Alfred. 31 March 2017)

In this instance, taste is shaped by the experienced event, through embodied engagement with place, both affectively and relationally produced.

Complex relationships between fairgoers, the fair experience, and affect, generate taste situated in place. Emotions rooted in place create particular feelings between people, materials, and events. At the fair, Showpeople non-verbally communicate with fairgoers and enthusiasts to alter social relations of place and atmosphere through sensory enchantment. The fair's social history allows us to see the relationship between a cultural phenomenon (the fair) and the changing social classes who chose to visit or attend it; *and*, how this relation can be understood as an expression of taste (or indeed, the lack thereof). The central theme throughout this chapter being the emergence of a shared, popular taste for the unusual, novel, or transgressive attractions that the fair 'brought to town'. For some, the novelty or exceptional quality of the fair was intensely felt, and Showpeople also sought to feed the feeling. For others, what the fair brought might be judged uncouth, unseemly, and improper. Thus, it was not, or no longer, a place to be seen, or to fraternise with the lower classes, emerging as a transgressive space of modernity.

Modern fairs, however, have presented themselves as spaces beyond class-culture; as manifestations of technology. For illustrative examples, we can look to the tastes of individual fair-going groups: namely, enthusiasts, fair-going publics, and Showpeople.

5.1.1. Enthusiasts: a tale of specialist taste

Over the past fifty years, a new type of specialised taste-culture has developed around the fair: enthusiast collectors, fair-goers, historians, and fair-buffs [etc.] have formed their own discerning taste culture, 'making similar choices' (Gans, 1966: 582) in their interests to preserve fair histories. Here, Gans (1966) positions an understanding of taste in relation to culture; specifically, that 'taste is shaped by aggregates of similar content chosen by the same people' (Gans, 1966: 582). At the fair enthusiasts have introduced a new type of taste, or connoisseurship shaped by a 'solidarity of interest' and a 'solidarity of sentiment' (Bell, 1998). These practiced acts of enthusiasm shape and alter the way that spaces are encountered; in the case of the fair, they forge nostalgic landscapes. Reflecting on its transitory nature, Othello, an avid fairgoer and keen fair-history enthusiast recalls an experience of awe and wonder from April of 1942:

‘One minute it was there, and the next ... gone. Such a fleeting moment ... you knew it was going to disappear, but still it just vanished ... and eventually all that was left: circles in the grass. To a child, it was like magic – you couldn’t imagine it’.

(Interview excerpt. Othello. 29 April 2017)

This fleeting immateriality resonates as reflective nostalgia – a savouring of emotion for a time when the fair represented a mysterious modernity. For Othello, the fair has always been a place of mystery, an abstract space, not quite understandable; a site within which enchantment and nostalgia take hold in momentary pleasures (see also: Bennett, 2016; Cashman, 2002). These visceral experiences have formed lasting impressions that today, provide formidable glimpses into past ambiances and excitements of the travelling fair.

In this space, heritage and history, coupled with sensory experience, are further elements shaping atmosphere wherein reflection is a motivator for nostalgia. An emotional response that forms attachment; the atmosphere of the fair space re-connecting past and present in its very existence. Often, it is this nostalgia that drives the taste of enthusiasts:

‘Most of us want to preserve our memories, and the fair itself ... We all have valuable experiences and an attachment to it ... So, now we want to make sure it continues. It’s memories from childhood that drive what we do. To share our own [tastes] with others.’

(Interview excerpt. Hamlet. 07 December 2017)

In the climate of the changing fair landscape, I argue that sustained enthusiasm practiced variously by enthusiasts, has rejuvenated the fairground scene by preserving its heritage and history, but also by sharing their enacted enthusiasm with fairgoers. Here, I draw on work by Geoghegan (2013) to construct enthusiasm as an emotional and affectual attachment. Working to preserve historic artefacts, enthusiasm enacted in the fairground space challenges boundaries between the social norm and the carnivalesque where these experiences traverse spatial and social boundaries. Taking and archiving photographs, examining material, and restoring decomposing objects are acts performed in response to sentiment. Executed across different fairs by various individuals, these actions of enthusiasm serve to represent a multitude of interests, enthusiasms, and curiosities. It is in this vein that enthusiasts become agents capable of shaping space through emotion, while developing their interests and carrying out their practice. Specifically, this enthusiasm is generated by, and thus represents, a mobile, material passion. Grounding their formation and interests in the pursuit of shared knowledge and experience, fair enthusiasts are driven by both solidarities of interest and solidarities of

sentiment enacted in the same space (Bell, 1998). They represent a popular cultural taste in fairground culture as emergent from dialogues between place and experience.

5.1.2. Fair-going publics: taste and popular culture

Comparatively, fairgoers represent Bell's (1998) solidarity of sentiment, shaped by affects of shared experience. Particularly, fairgoers characterise tastes shaped by the experience of place: the fair 'ground' or the tent 'pitch'. Their social tastes are shaped by a connection between material and memory *in-situ* generating reflective or restorative nostalgia. As lights dazzle, base-beats thud, and rides loop-the-loop, fairgoers experience deeply embodied physical and emotional affects, generated by material objects. Duncan (1993, in: Duncan and Ley, 1993) argues that material and site connect people and places. Transmitted through sensory engagement and experience, these materials have different meanings for each individual (Kwint, *et.al*, 1999). As such, they have the capacity to generate either a longing to return to the past, or to incite fond emotion on reflection of times past. Clinton's memories on a particularly memorable Waltzer ride in 1951, highlight the latter in its connection between rides and taste:

'It was spinning faster and faster – everything around me blurring. The music, the lights, the colours - all just one big haze. I clung onto the seat for dear life, the longer it went around, the more I felt lost and sick! ... like it wasn't the same place.'

(Interview excerpt. Clinton. 23 June 2017)

A teenager at the time, Clinton's memories highlight the importance of corporeal experience in fashioning taste. Today, his favourite part of the fair remains the Waltzer:

'I will argue this until I am blue in the face ... it is by far the best ride at the fair. Don't get me wrong, the whole fair is fantastic, but the Waltzer is like nothing else.'

(Interview excerpt. Clinton. 23 June 2017)

Lost memories of the past and sensory perceptions of the present create nostalgia in place. For the context of the fair space, this means that performance and sensory engagement are central elements in generating reflective nostalgia for fairgoers.

For Alfred, nostalgia is embedded in material: 'it's the lights that get me every time. My family have a big connection to lights at the fair, so I'm always reminded of that when I come here' (Interview excerpt, Alfred. 31 March 2017). In this instance, nostalgia is shaped by an embodied engagement and encounter with material surroundings and expressed as a solidarity of

sentiment. What makes the fairground intensely affective is its capacity to fashion a taste for speed, excess, and movement, through sensory experiences that are ‘more-than-representational’. Their abilities to transform and enchant fairgoers generate atmospheres removed from everyday reality: sites of nostalgia to stimulate, capture and enhance.

5.1.3. Showpeople: constructions of culture at the fair

In its simplest terms, popular culture can be understood as ‘culture, which is widely favoured or well-liked by many people’ (Parker, 2011: 150). However, in the fairground context, popular culture represents that which is ‘distinct from both folk culture and high culture’ (Parker, 2011: 152). It is an ‘other’ culture: ‘everything that is unofficial and unauthorised’ (Parker, 2011: 165-166), fashioned out of interactions and movements outside socially organised and accepted behaviour. In this vein, fairground tastes parallel Bakhtin’s (1968) carnivalesque, wherein behavioural misalliances merge peripheral and borderline amusements with mainstream popular culture. What results is a space on the border, reflective of popular cultures distanced from social norms.

When thinking about popular culture, it is important to recognise that it is entwined into everyday practices, and consumed *en-masse*. Showpeople craft sites designed to enchant fairgoers; to create ‘a feeling or delight, or the state of being under incantation’ (Collingwood, 2005, in: Boucher *et.al*, 2005: 2). They exhibit popular cultural trends, displayed in music choices and artistry, to engineer and manufacture spaces that enchant their audience. Expressed throughout history in fairs such as Pierre Spitzner’s ‘*Grand Musée Anatomique et Ethnologique*’ (Hoffman, 2006), popular cultural styles and unique sources of pleasure such as recumbent beauties, have served to shape public entertainment. At the fair Showpeople generate atmospheres that: ‘in moments of enchantment ... glimpse ... the vital materiality with which we are already entangled’ (Bennett, 2010, in: Kitson and McHugh, 2015: 490). This culture of enchantment merges peripheral and borderline social attitudes through engagements with physical materials in place; in turn, creating viscerally, emotionally, and affectively constructed spaces.

Today’s Showmen unite history and modern tastes to create atmosphere and ambiance; and by extension, the modern fair as a space in which all forms of entertainment are frequented by all social classes: ‘The ingredients of spectacle, experience, illusion and reality are part of [a great tober,] a melting pot’ (NFCA, 2020) of sensory excess, and an experience like no other. Modern fairs represent a pleasure and taste that are deeply engrained in experience; a taste that

is beyond class culture – a universal popular culture that transgresses social boundaries (see also: Parker, 2011). One that advocates for an understating that taste influences pleasure (Kant, in: Guyer, 2003). Over time, the fair has reflected different popular tastes, bringing with it a range of audiences. Though it remains border-lined due to its mobility, the fairs temporality fashions it as a site of intrigue; its ‘pop-up and put-away’ dynamism being what we find attractive. And why? Because we can do things reflective of a different (questionable) taste for a short period, but not continuously. As such, taste is created by momentary experience, characterised by the *ad-hoc*, temporary nature of the fair.

5.2. Haptic taste: sensory perceptions, recollections, and understandings

To visit the fairground is to be bombarded with myriad sensory stimulants: ‘there is a distinct whiff of charred onions and a delectable sugary-sweet aroma of deep-fried donuts; two distinct flavours, melding together tantalisingly’ (Ethnographic excerpt. Braehead Fair. 30 May 2017). Taste as a social and cultural construct has capabilities to shape place and site, and therefore, experience; at the travelling fairground Showpeople, enthusiasts, and fairgoers are brought together in a space of affect, amusement and atmosphere, bombarded with a myriad of sensory illusions:

‘To my left there is a vivid pink food stand somewhat garish yet endearing. All in different shades – the candyfloss blush, the van magenta, the meat rosewood, and the sweets bubble-gum. Loud music is blaring from the speakers – all different songs. Showpeople are blagging, trying to entice customers to their stalls. The atmosphere is unreal, unlike anything that exists.’
(Ethnographic excerpt. Kirkcaldy Links Market. 22 April 2017)

The fairs amalgamation of social class and taste utilises every sense to its full advantage; accordingly, this subsection depicts an evolution of gustatory taste in the fair. Fundamentally, it argues that Scotland’s modern travelling fairgrounds are shaped by a flavour of popular culture designed to elicit and create affect, nostalgia, and emotion.

Historically and traditionally, travelling fairgrounds vended unique items, not readily available. Today, the fairground brings with it an explosion of taste from international destinations. It is an amalgamation of cuisine, both sweet and savoury. While it continues to vend traditional goods, it has also become a source of new and exciting flavours. This change in foodstuffs has introduced what Swislocki (2008: n.p.) terms ‘a framework for determining

the historical significance of food as a symbol of place, and as an object through which people understand and make sense of the world around them'. In the past, fairgrounds were a source of unique and novel pleasure (Fig. 5.1), a source of rarity, and source of intrigue.



Fig. 5.1: W. Thwaites' Candy Floss, Hot Dogs and Toffee Apples, Macclesfield Fair, 1959. Rowland Scott Collection. Reproduced with permission from the National Fairground and Circus Archive, University of Sheffield.

Three staples that remain today, and through which I am going to dissect and experience the taste of the fair, are the toffee apple, candy floss, and popcorn.

5.2.1. The toffee apple

There is nothing quite like the sensation of biting into a toffee apple (Fig. 5.2): the crisp crunch of the apple followed by the sweet taste of the thick caramel shell, with modern adornments of nuts, sprinkles, or even smarties, adding bite and texture – the acidity cutting through the sweetness offers balance.



Fig. 5.2: Fairground Toffee Apples. Kirkcaldy Links Market. 22 April 2017. Source: Author's Own

This sugary delicacy has been a traditional staple of the fairground since the early 1900s.¹⁹ It is a traditional treat that brings to mind memories of years gone by, and adventures at the fairgrounds. Janet, a resident fairgoer, and keen toffee apple connoisseur describes it as:

‘The best treat there is. It has everything: crunch, sweetness, a sticky glaze, it’s sour – scrumptious. There is no other sweet like it; but it’s so important to get that crunch just right. It’s that sugar coating that really distinguishes it from other fairground sweets.’

(Interview excerpt. Janet. 03 May 2017)

Toffee apples are produced following strictly adhered-to traditions; first and foremost, it must be noted that only certain apples are suitable: ‘they have to be round, crisp and fresh ... and unwaxed, so the toffee can stick to it.’ (Interview excerpt. Josephine. 11 April 2017). Construction is precise and delicate:

‘You’ve got to go quickly ... eventually you get the hang of it. First, you push your sticks in and set out the paper for once they’re done. Then you heat the sugar ... 141 degrees precisely or you don’t get the signature crack. Then dip and twist the apples into the sugar ... that’s important. Dip and twist. Once you’ve done that you put it on [the paper] and let it set.’

(Interview excerpt. Louisa. 12 November 2017)

¹⁹ Information gleaned from interviews with Showpeople. They do not have an actual or exact date, though do believe the toffee apple finds its origins in the early twentieth century.

These steps are critical in ensuring that customary ‘hard crack’ of the toffee apple the fair is known for. For Peter, a traditional Showman, and his granddaughter Josephine, toffee apples are a big part of their family history:

‘Josephine: Were you not the first family to do apples, as I got told? Or was the just a bit of fibbing?’

Peter: We might have been ... No, we were, nobody else did apples before us. Oh, and we used to make toffee apples in a very specific way. We used to buy thousands of apples. Thousands of boxes... [And then] it’s just, you stick a stick in the apple, pick up two apples and then spin them [in the toffee] and then put them on a tray what had a margarine scraped over it, you know to save it sticking ... We were the only ones to use the margarine ... and then there was our secret ingredient.’

(Interview excerpt. Peter and Josephine. 29 February 2017)

This family trade, and specific way of making toffee apples, reveals that Showpeople are innovating distinctive gustatory and cultural trends. In the fairground landscape these objects are not just ways of making a living, but distinct family spaces that bring together generations of Showpeople in their construction and celebration. Although they have asked me not to share their ‘real’ secret ingredient, both Josephine and Peter assure me they are the only ones to use this particular spice in their toffee. However, it is not just the recipe of the apples that bring back memories; for Peter, toffee apples elicit particular memories of childhood:

‘Oh, you used to get [muscle definition] from spinning the apples. But if you weren’t just doing it automatically, you know with the apples and spinning them, and you know [it was dangerous]. And my sister ... one of the apples come off and she reached in to pick it up. Lucky enough there was some water close enough, so she got her hand in the water. As soon as she hit it with the water it was okay because it just set on you and then you just had to pick it off. But if you waited just that wee touch too long, all the skin would peel off, you know. But I think ... I remember one time I was at Ke, no Elgin, Elgin, and, this was my second sister, she’d made a pan of toffee, so she give me it and says go and empty that, so I thought where am I going to empty it? And I was right next to the river, so I thought, I’ll put it in the river – you know, can’t do no harm. Food for the fish, so I went and I was holding it like this [motions holding tray flat above his head] I was there and there was a good weight to it, and the bank gave way and I slipped down the bank holding this, I wouldn’t get a, I wasn’t caring where I went, if I went in the river or anywhere, because if I went that way I’d have went in the river anyway. I kept on holding it and never spilled a drop’.

(Interview excerpt. Peter. 17 March 2017)

This reflective nostalgia rings through every toffee apple he has sold in his adulthood, recalling fond memories of his childhood. Although the toffee apple is thought to have originated in the United States of America, it is a staple of British fairground cuisine (NFCA, 2020). Viola, a keen fairground enthusiast regales the toffee apple as the best part of the fair:

‘It is a quintessential taste of the British travelling fairground. The sweet sticky glaze is such a staple of the fair ... now there are so many different types of apples for fairgoers to choose from.’

(Interview excerpt. Viola. 17 December 2017)

The toffee apple represents a British food culture in its own right; a staple taste in fair food that has inspired new tastes and creations, shocked with its flavours, and persisted as a food source of pleasure. Wanda, a keen fairgoer, likens the toffee apple to a cultural icon:

‘It is *the* British fair food though, isn’t it? There’s nothing like a toffee apple in any other aspect of life. So, it’s part of their history – they developed it. And every time I come to the fair, I have a toffee apple – it’s the only thing I eat, and the thing I most look forward to.’

(Interview excerpt. Wanda. 08 July 2017)

The toffee apple in its purest form represents a source of pleasure, a source of intrigue, and source of indulgence. It is a taste that cannot be replicated by any other sweet, and one that defines the travelling fairground in just one bite: sharp, sweet, and indulgent.

5.2.2. Popcorn

In line with the toffee apple, popcorn has long been a fairground staple. Sweet and salty at the same time; crunchy, hot, buttery, light and fluffy, popcorn is visually appealing in its presentation, and additionally in its unique crackly texture (Fig. 5.3).



Figure 5.3: Fairground Popcorn. St. Andrews Lammas Fair. 10 August 2017. Source: Author's Own

What makes popcorn such a special foodstuff is its versatile sensations that serve to more than just tingle taste buds. At the fair, popcorn is a household staple, and has been since its creation in the early 1700s (NFCA, 2020). While popcorn finds its origins in Central America, this snack has been popularised by Showpeople worldwide:

‘It was definitely one of earliest treats ... we used to make it in big pots on a stove. Ping, pop, bang ... if you didn't hold onto the lid, it would come flying off ... now you've got them machines, they're not as fun.’

(Interview excerpt. Jemima. 10 April 2017)

What made, and still makes it so popular is its unique texture. Jason, fairgoer extraordinaire, remarks: ‘It's sweet, salty, buttery goodness. That's all there is to it! Fat and sugar ... and when you combine that with the crunchy but almost air-like texture, it's just amazing’ (Interview excerpt. Jason. 25 March 2017). For Barbara, an avid fairgoer, the most appealing element of popcorn is its variety:

‘Popcorn is amazing – especially fairground popcorn ... there’s so many different flavours: sweet, salty, cheesy, toffee popcorn, chocolate popcorn, sweet and salty at the same time ... that’s what makes it. Whatever you feel like eating, there’s a popcorn to match your mood.’

(Interview excerpt. Barbara. 02 June 2017)

This taste spectrum offers people of all ages an unlimited choice of flavour combination, catering to their every whim and fancy. For Wade, one of my youngest participants, and a lover of all things thrilling, popcorn reflects a cherished family tradition:

‘My grandfather went to the Kelvinhall [fair] as a child ... it was the first place he ever tasted popcorn ... so when I was a child, he took me for my first popcorn ... since then, we’ve come every year at Christmas.’

(Interview excerpt. Wade. 20 December 2017)

Meanwhile, Showman, Peter recalls his own familial memories:

‘[We] used to have a big metal box to pour all the popcorn in – big packets of popcorn – and pour toffee all over them or whatever it was, and with a big stick and the big stick got a bit of a coat and as it got harder, and then we used to have to go and fill these packets and, ‘sh-sh-sh’ (sound effect) there’s one, and you know ... my sisters and I always working together’

(Interview excerpt. Peter. 17 March 2017)

Popcorn, much like the toffee apple evokes its own memories and reflective nostalgias for Showpeople, fairgoers, and enthusiasts alike. Experiences of making for some, and eating for others, construct fond feelings for times past; a way to reflect on moments of familial bonding, gustatory pleasure, and even, changing landscapes. In its salty, crunchy, buttery-sweet goodness, popcorn continues to be a staple of the fairground today, tantalising taste buds and generating enjoyment cross-country.

5.2.3. Candy floss

Though, perhaps, the most unique of all fairground treats is by far candy floss, more colloquially known as candy floss, cotton candy, or in Scotland as ‘fairy floss’ (Fig. 5.4). Nothing even comes close to the sensation of eating this sweet pink sugary substance. It’s taste, and texture, are unrivalled – visually intriguing, excessively sweet, and the texture, bristly, and then gone: ‘It’s the fact that it dissolves almost straight away that’s so appealing – you rip a bit off, pop it in your mouth and then nothing but sugar’ (Interview excerpt. Selina. 09 June 2017).



Figure 5.4: Candyfloss Clouds. Kirkcaldy Links Market. 19 April 2017. Source: Author's Own

Candy floss has long been defined by its unique colour and texture; although invented in 1897, it was only introduced to the fairground in 1904, where it made its debut as 'Fairy Floss' (NFCA, 2019).

Today, it is a treat like no other, divisive in its distinctive texture and taste; Natasha, a long-time fairgoer, whose enjoyment stems from indulging in fairground food, detests candyfloss with a passion: 'Hate it! Absolutely awful ... too sweet. And then it melts all over your hands and you're all sticky. Looks great ... I will give it that ... but no, it's rank' (Interview excerpt. Natasha. 02 September 2017). Contrastingly, Lex loves it: 'I have it every time I come. It's the best thing here by far ... a syrupy sweet strawberry stickiness. Bloody amazing' (Interview excerpt. Lex. 11 June 2017). For both of these fairgoers, their experiences are rooted firmly in the haptic experiences of eating; their enjoyment and displeasure forever shaped by the first bite.

Showpeople have other associations, rooted in past creations of this delectable treat (Fig. 5.5):



Fig. 5.5: Candy Floss stall at Night, Burton Upon Trent Fair, circa 1960. Arthur Jones Collection. Reproduced with permission from the National Fairground and Circus Archive, University of Sheffield.

‘Every so often the candy floss machines, I don’t know if we ever found yet what it was, but it used to, the aluminium scoop for the sugar and all of a sudden you’d hit the back board, the board at the back, electricity, and it used to always throw you ... it always threw you. And the candyfloss, I used to watch the floss, I was only about fifteen, fourteen, sixteen, somewhere about there. There was three candy floss machines, so I used to work with three of them, which was not many people done it you know ... but eh get the stick and there were three different colours as well and I’d do the three ... and I used to be able to keep them going with sugar and all that, so I used to put the sugar in, worked two hands for the you know, and ‘click-click’ (sound effect), thousands and thousands I made. In fact, it was that good, what eh, after I was in it one winter, I don’t know how I never got the touch, but eh my mother took the three girls, that must have been the pictures when we went to Trafalgar. She took them away for a wee holiday for them, after I’d made all the bloody candyfloss. So that was it.’

(Interview excerpt. Peter. 29 January 2017)

For Peter, candy floss evokes both reflective and restorative nostalgia; a longing to return to a time when his mother was alive, and also a celebration of the past as the past – a sweet that shaped relationships with his sisters while bestowing vital tricks of the trade.

For Louisa, a third-generation Show-woman, candyfloss is an important part of her business: ‘it’s probably my best seller. All the youngsters like it ... either to eat or play with’ (Interview excerpt. Louisa. 12 November 2017). And so, she follows a meticulous method, passed down from her grandmother:

‘It’s straightforward but has to be done correctly or you just get a mess ... with the machines now it’s a lot easier. My gran used to make it in a pan ... pour the coloured sugar into the bowl ... melt it and at boiling point take it off the heat. Then spin over a bowl with a whisk and as it sets you twirl a stick round the rim and collect the sugar. Now you can do it with multiple colours, or just one ... depends on who’s making it.’

(Interview excerpt. Louisa. 12 November. 2017)

These lived experiences of candy floss continue to influence how Louisa remembers her grandmother, and in a way celebrate her traditions. For both Peter and Louisa, candy floss forges connections between the modern fairground and the history on which it is dependent.

It can be argued that haptic taste changes the way fairgoers, Showpeople, and enthusiasts encounter and experience the fairground space; gustatory pleasure, or for some distaste, influences how we interact, move through, and understand the travelling fairground. Historically, the fairground brought sweets and treats that were widely unavailable, thus residents of the towns visited could connect with the UK's many regional food cultures and the countries culinary heritage only through the travelling fair. Yet, locally sourced ingredients meant that every item produced in each new place had a distinct ‘local’ flavour:

‘To make the candy floss [and other treats], you used to have get sugar in the local place. To live in the local place you used to have to buy in the local stores, it wasn’t like you went to TESCO, so the fair really interacted with the local people, interacted with their businesses and your toffee apples probably tasted different wherever you went based on what supplies you could get and just things like that, which changed when in the future all of a sudden, you were just going to a supermarket for all of it.’

(Interview excerpt. Josephine. 11 April 2017)

Each food item had a place-dependent flavour shaped by regional ingredients, as well as local production capacities. These regional flavours are intrinsic to how the fairground connects to

past lives in the present and also imagines the future. When seen through the lens of food history the fairground emerges as a deeply nostalgic place and one much more committed to traditional flavours than previously imagined.

Here, we can call on Jackson's (2010) food geographies to think through the material agency of the toffee apple, popcorn, and candy floss to generate nostalgia. As non-human agents with affective capacities, these foods are a material source of pleasure and distaste, among other sensations. Fairgoers' appetites for this food 'brings together a cacophony of feelings, hopes, pleasures and worries, [orchestrating] experiences that are at once intensely individual and social' (Probyn, 2000, in: Jackson, 2013: 25). At the fair, experiences of eating, and as such a person's appetite for these indulgent, sweet, and savoury delectables, often cheap and unhealthy, involves sociocultural elements of cultural *and* haptic taste.

Showpeople's creation of it meanwhile, incites and evokes memories from the past, rooted firmly in material; a culinary nostalgia: the recollection of food-related memory (Swislocki, 2008). Specifically, travelling fairground traditions and experiences evoke feelings and memories from the past recalled through interactions of the present. Here, food is a materiality through which human bodies derive emotion and affect; olfactory engagement experienced through taste sensations on the tongue and in the mouth, alter space and blur boundaries between private and public spheres in the process (Rodaway, 1994). Only through 'tasting' and engaging corporeally, sensually, and viscerally with place can we derive pleasures from taste. In the fair space, food combines complex networks and landscapes in its existence, bringing together opposite people, places, and desires or indulgences in one landscape. These geographies come into being only through experiences of taste.

Food and body allow us to encounter popular culture through the analysis of food. In the fairground context, we can thus discern that fairgrounds communicate their history, relive their memories, and generate nostalgia through the use of food. In particular, toffee apples, popcorn, and candy floss create an indulgent fair taste that allows individuals to reflect on a time past, as well as indulge in a foreign atmosphere. As sites of vernacular pleasure, today's travelling fairgrounds reflect a taste that is beyond class culture; one capable of creating intense sensory satisfaction and pleasure.

5.3. A matter of taste

Fairs represent a pleasure; a cultural and haptic taste that are deeply intertwined, a universal experience. Over time, the fair has projected different popular cultures and tastes,

eliciting a range of audiences. Although the travelling fair still sits on the periphery of social acceptance, it has broken class-boundaries to entertain individuals from a broad spectrum of tastes and class. The 'true' representation of the fairground then, introducing spontaneity, carnival, and social 'distaste' to everyday static places. What this reflects is the idea of the fair as interdependent; place, culture, society, affect, and atmosphere merging to shape and form fairground taste. In this sense, the fair and its sensory haptic taste constructions have become 'the unwritten portion of the story of the people, bound to the life of a nation by the ties of religion, trade and pleasure' (NFCA, 2019). A tradition that is alive and breathing, fighting to stay relevant, and reflects the influence of popular culture through haptic taste and gustatory enchantment.

Ontologically and empirically I argue that taste and taste intertwine. Changing social tastes and constructions of society have traditionally and typically altered the way we engage with the fairground space, and for the purposes of this chapter, food. Experienced distinctively by fairgoers, Showpeople, and enthusiasts, modern elements of taste serve to unite these groups within the fair. It creates a popular culture 'widely favoured' (Parker, 2011: 150) and consumed *en-masse*, olfactory engagement experienced through taste sensations on the tongue and in the mouth, alter space and blur boundaries between private and public spheres in the process. At the travelling fair, taste is mediated in different registers, producing memory and nostalgia in distinct ways. Throughout history, and still today, the fair has enabled and assembled manifold cultural and haptic tastes, while also obscuring others. Subject to changes in fortune and taste, it has served to both distance and unite social groups while also engendering innumerable flavours, both haptic and cultural.

Beyond that, understanding geographies of taste and taste as substantial and non-representational (or more-than-representational), enables us to consider these as symbiotic elements, each influencing the other. In its formulation of tastes, the fairground becomes a site of aesthetic affect wherein sensory excess, and experiential overload are produced through the pairing of two forms of taste.

Chapter 6. Mobilities of, and in, the fairground space

Within current geographic literature mobility is often configured as ‘the movement of people, ideas or goods through place and space’ (Gregory, *et.al*, 2009: 467) (see also: Cresswell, 2011; Adey, 2010). This reflects an approach distinct from previous mobility geographies, within which ‘a mobile take on mobility [was] frequently absent’ (Symes, 2007: 447). Sheller and Urry (2006) assess that if mobility is approached from a stationary perspective, life can only be one-dimensional, characterised by the mobility of materials and people. A recent move towards understanding mobility as a complex process of networks and flows encourages an understanding of mobility as movement while it is occurring (Terranova-Webb, 2010). Adey (2010) and Cresswell (2010) in particular, have transformed mobility studies by exposing the agency and impact of transient networks, bodies, and materials within ever-changing society. The fairground is far from a stationary space, presenting multiple mobilities in its very existence. Although commonly perceived as a fleeting experience by fairgoers, to Showpeople, it represents a life of continuous, albeit repetitive motion that generates temporality; thus, this research presents ideas of mobility as a process of melding flows of, and in, the fairground space.

In this space mobilities intertwine to create realms of entertainment. The much-loved funfair tober generates amusement wherein changing landscapes and materialities introduce multiple mobilities (Philips, 2012). Mechanical mobility, geographical transience, and temporality encompass these mobilities in the fair space. Accordingly, distinctions are made between mobility of, and in, the fairground space.

‘6.1. *Mobility: a life of travel*’ recognises the fairground space as a representation of transience. I discuss the wider implications of a strict show-calendar and decreed travel routes for Showpeople and consider changes to fairs, highlighting how modernisation and new popular cultural trends have shaped the fair’s mobilities. Finally, I bring tradition and modernity together to outline how mobilities of the fair have progressed over time to configure travelling fairs as the spaces of mobility they are today.

‘6.2. *Continuous static mobility*’ introduces Terranova-Webb’s (2010) concept of static mobility; a model that explores ‘practices of mobility for the people that are moving’ (Terranova-Webb, 2010: 4). More specifically, ‘stable mobility recovers the practices and experiences of being mobile by viewing lived relationships and processes of mobility from the place of movement’ (Terranova-Webb, 2010: 24). In recognising that continuous static mobility

creates familiar situations, I argue that Showpeople experience and perform a ‘stable’ mobility in their daily actions.

In ‘6.3. *Intensities of mobility: transformations of place and space*’ I discuss the transformational element of fair atmosphere, drawing on the St. Andrews Lammas fair as case study; here, I reference theories of reflective and restorative nostalgia, to argue that the travelling fairground is an *ad-hoc* ‘pop-up’ space that temporarily transposes the places it situates itself in.

‘6.4. *Mobility in the fairground space: mechanics of motion*’ outlines the different types of mobility created by the rides at the fair and the importance of mobility in generating an atmosphere. Finally, ‘6.5. *Geographies of mobility of and in the fair*’ offers concluding notions highlighting how mobilities of and in the fair come together to create a sensory atmosphere.

6.1. Mobility: A life of travel

Since its conception the fairground space has been associated with nomadism and transience of Showpeople; often, society has constructed this as a denigrating element of their culture. As discussed in ‘2.1. *Scotland’s travelling groups and their geographies*’ Showpeople have distinct travelling patterns that often see them figured as Gypsy travellers; consequently, they have faced marginalisation, and figurative and literal ‘othering’ from mainstream society. Deliberate, or rather uninformed, misrepresentations in the media, such as in ‘*Taggart*’, have associated a culture of traditional working nomadism, with renderings of destitution and criminality. The traditions behind their nomadism, in particular, are largely overlooked; across mainstream society it is still a marginalised (and even demonised) way of life. Thus, this chapter seeks to engage with and re-frame the greater social geography of the nation, and how it popularly imagines itself in line with its traditions and recent changes in an attempt to move away from constructions of vagrancy as a threat.

Since their creation in the 1300s, travelling fairs have been an integral aspect of Showpeople’s culture, and today, reflect strong heritage and tradition. An established schedule of fairs created in the 1800s, influenced by heritage and family tradition, determined annual travel routes:²⁰

²⁰ Refer to ‘1.3. *Travelling fairgrounds: landscapes of operation in Scotland’s past and present*’ for route maps, and a table of routes.

‘Each of us had our own route to follow ... my mam and da’ followed the same ones their grandparents did, it was passed on. You didn’t deviate from your route ... that was the unspoken rule.’

(Interview excerpt. Peter. 29 January 2017)

Notable success and popularity resulted in the creation of permanent routes, plots, and steady mobility patterns, introducing an important geographical distinction between families, while ensuring that no town became over-saturated.

Traditionally, the same show was re-created week after week across villages, towns, and cities in Scotland:

‘It was always the same ... the show only changed when you got new joints. Then you had to [design] a new spiel ... But always the same families ... the same route with the same gear.’

(Interview excerpt. Jemima. 29 January 2017)²¹

Though this repetition of shows produced similar patterns for Showpeople, it is important to emphasise that change of site prevented any two shows from being identical; a concept previously outlined in ‘4.1. *Site: spaces of the fair*’. Perpetual movement, meanwhile, introduced static routine to the fair (further considered in ‘6.2. *Continuous static mobility*’). Traditionally, however, the show-calendar introduced guaranteed employment:

‘People expected us because we went to the same places, like clockwork ... they would wait for the fair. Stand on the street and wave us in ... you’d always be there for the same days. It was [routine].’

(Interview excerpt. Tommy. 15 March 2017)

This established route permitted the movement of Showpeople between particular places and spaces, but within a pre-determined pattern; thus, shaping the types of mobility experienced by this culture.

As explored in ‘5.1. *Taste: popular culture, class, and society*’ developments in popular culture have historically altered the fairground landscape, correspondingly influencing mobility patterns in the process. Further progress, witnessed in the transport revolution of the 1900s, transformed Showmen’s potentials. As the era of the steam locomotive brought new capabilities, and horses were retired, Showmen were able to travel further with more equipment: ‘the development of articulated vehicles on which rides and shows could literally be folded up’

²¹ In this context, ‘same’ acknowledges repeated use of rides and stalls for the entire fair season.

(Braithwaite, 1976: 29) revolutionised modern fairgrounds. Petrol lorries (Fig. 6.1), and diesel tractors allowed Showpeople to travel past their structured borders, and so traditional travel routes began to change; many families visiting locations far beyond their historically designated routes.



Fig. 6.1: Transport lorries over time. Glasgow. 31 October 2017. Source: Author's Own.

But steam power increased more than just modes of transport; the 1900s also bore the generation of new rides – a concept further discussed in ‘6.4. *Mobility in the fairground space: mechanics of motion*’.

While these transformations have created promising potentials, they have also had less-positive impacts. Although the season still runs primarily from April-October, many individual fairs occur out-with this time frame and require additional travel. This has generated much more erratic movements as present-day fairgrounds work around a more complex schedule. Still upheld in shows organised by the Scottish Showmen's Guild plot-standings are available to the same families. However, in newly established fairs, the lessee is free to ‘rent out’ plots to the highest bidder; consequently, large family organisations are thriving, while smaller family businesses are finding it difficult to secure stable employment: ‘you’ve got some people, [they]

own enough rides to put on their own fairs ... but it's all politics, it's who you know. If you've worked with them before, you're in' (Interview excerpt. Felix. 29 February 2017). With a loss of tradition, lessees have been free to adapt how they take their cut: 'Now most [lessees] have their own rules ... instead of taking a set percentage of your earnings, they expect a standard rate of rent ... so sometimes it's not even worth going' (Interview excerpt. Benjamin. 31 October 2017). This has resulted in both a significant change to mobility, and a change in the fair landscape more generally as show-families have become inclined to travel to sites with an assured income profit.

Showpeople are now more likely to frequent popularly attended sites, such as Kirkcaldy Links Market, St. Andrews Lammas Fair, or Glasgow Green Fair, while smaller towns previously visited once a year, are either over-saturated, annually hosting multiple fairs, or conversely, host none at all. Subsequently, the travelling fair is changing:

'losing its novelty and suffering a loss of visitors ... it's ruining the business. We can't do it anymore ... there's not enough interest to keep it alive. I don't know how much longer it will last.'

(Interview excerpt. Josephine. 11 April 2017)

This has resulted in hardship for a lot of families: 'everything has changed ... it's not a good business to be in anymore. There's comradery, but everyone's up for the same [jobs] ... too many people in the same places' (Interview excerpt. Benjamin. 31 October 2017). By the same token, this newfound *ad-hoc* travel has contributed to the loss of fair sites *and* customers wherein newly perceived insecurities have generated a mobility pattern dependent on availability and success. These changing mobilities have had a unique effect on what was once a traditional and celebrated business, challenging the continued existence of this trade.

Yet even though their mobilities are changing, Showpeople are still subjected to ongoing marginalisation: 'It's not changed ... just a consequence of the trade. The council don't understand. The people don't care' (Interview excerpt. Benjamin. 31 October 2017). Ongoing mobility places them at the heart of Traditionalist and Lorist paradigms who have long figured travellers as bounded to nature. As previously outlined in '4.1.2. *Site-lines*', travelling fairs represent a mobility unknown to sedentary society, and as such are figured as outsiders. These preconceptions have not changed, and within society Showpeople unjustly continue to be encountered as a threat to moral society.

6.2. Continuous static mobility

Historically, Scotland's travelling fairgrounds have been sites of impermanence. Modernity, as Cresswell (2010) has argued, resulted in a mobility shift, making networks of travel and movement more accessible. Consequently, Scotland's travelling fairs exhibit mobilities transformed over time by changing processes of technology and modernisation. Historically dictated travel patterns, and the processes of rigging up, performing, and teardown, introduce what Terranova-Webb (2010) terms a 'static' or 'stable' mobility; a model which acknowledges that repeated productions of movement create recognisable mobilities. More specifically, 'stable mobility recovers the practices and experiences of being mobile by viewing lived relationships and processes of mobility from the place of movement' (Terranova-Webb, 2010: 24). Here, I argue that fairground processes of travel and performance embody 'stable' mobility in their repeated fashions.

Although they are subject to changing people and places, travelling fairgrounds are always recognised as a fairground. In order to produce the desired 'scream if you want to go faster' atmosphere, performed practices 'must be stable' (Terranova-Webb, 2010: 2); each day of routinised movement creates a 'continual renewal and restoration of mobilising and demobilising patterns [that] become a ritual, a performance enacting known patterns of behaviour' (Schechner, 2003: 50). The routine associated with the travelling fairground creates repeated patterns in rigging up, show-time, teardown, and travel; as outlined in '4.1. Site: spaces of the fair'. Witnessing this routine is like watching an artwork in creation, everything is meticulously timed and worked out. Every individual has a place to stand, and a movement to complete; I would argue it is much like a dance. Each effort is thought-out and well-rehearsed, the expertise of seasoned professionals shining through in each movement.

Once set-up has occurred, a day later the excitement begins; the days go by in a blur of 'blagging' to entice customers, both selling and performing. Day turns to night, and the landscape changes: different people, different atmosphere, different performance, yet still the same mobility. Practiced day after day and night after night, it is a continuous entertainment. Even when the fair is closed the site has a buzz of energy; families coming together, celebrating. Stepping into the world of the fair is a phenomenon like no other. No part of the fair is untouched, every nook and cranny of the site is taken over. Throngs of people milling around, eating, playing, laughing, and shouting; chaos. But organised, manufactured chaos; one that allows Showpeople to thrive (see also: Terranova-Webb, 2010).

Once the fair is over, everything is torn down. The once vibrant ‘pleasure-land’ is folded away into lorries and the Showmen leave. Much like set-up, this process follows strict instruction, adhering to repeated and performed practices to the letter:

‘Nothing is ever the same, I mean it is in terms of routine, but no place ever can be. We do it all the time, but it’s always exciting. There’s nothing that can be predicted, and you never know what you’re going to get.’

(Interview excerpt. Albert. 12 November 2017)

It is a stable mobility; a mobility contained in repeated acts of showmanship. Travel is much the same; drivers know the routes inside out – how to fit around each bend and manoeuvre their lorries into the tightest spot, taking the same roads to each fair whenever possible.

Although mobility patterns have adapted to modern demand, still today Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds continue to reflect a static mobility, wherein the actions of preparation, travel and arrangement remain the same. Preparing the generators ready to go out on the run, safety-checking the rides, and packing the vans, involves the same people, processes, and mobilities:

‘I have my role, I’m the one that guides them into the lorry. My son has another role, and my grandson his own ... we can do it all, but we don’t – we stick to our jobs.’

(Interview excerpt. Felix. 29 February 2017)

Safety checking and rigging rides together before they leave the ‘wintering’ storage/living sites, perpetuates this static mobility throughout the ‘off’ season. These jobs of maintenance, set-up, and security carry throughout the year, between the stationary ‘home’, travel, and fairs. Jack once had a specific checklist for preparation:

‘You check the lorry all the time, but on the day, you go, you check the generator first – cause if that doesn’t work you need a different lorry. Then you check the lorry: the tyres, the engine, and the petrol. Next the rides, it’s making sure it you’ve got all the parts. Everything’s been looked over for days, and by the inspector too, so you know it’s working. Then you get the gear onto the lorry. I know it looks a tight fit, but you do it so often it’s natural – a second nature.’

(Interview excerpt. Jack. 12 November 2017)

These actions represent repeated practices that introduce a ‘stable’ or static mobility (Terranova-Webb, 2010); although each fair space is encountered differently by enthusiasts and

fair-going individuals, for Showmen the routine of constructing and deconstructing their rides remains the same in each location, save for changes in ground surfaces and their associated actions; such as laying plastic mats on muddy ground or grass. Everyday processes of food preparation, counting money, selling tickets, and maintaining rides are performed efficiently in a ritualistic manner. Out-with ‘official’ fair season, maintenance and repairs follow a similar repetition; touching-up paint, polishing seats, and lubricating engines becomes a pattern repeated each year.

Places visited by the fair encounter it ‘with no knowledge of what came before, or even what will come after’ (Terranova-Webb, 2010: 97); impacted for a fleeting moment they quickly revert back to their states of normalcy. It arrives, exists for a few days, and then leaves with barely a trace of its existence; what remains are deep tyre-tracks and ruts in the mud, yellow patches of ‘un-watered’ grass, and the odd bit of food, scavenged by birds. This phenomenon is both temporary and transient, a fleeting space impacted by the changing temporalities of the fairground. To Showpeople most places are experienced as ‘just another day’ (Terranova-Webb, 2010: 2), another site; although some places evoke intrinsic memories:

‘I used to play football with the lads in Hawick; they never expected anything from us, but we beat them ... you should have seen the looks on their faces ... it’s a great memory ... I wouldn’t trade it [childhood] for the world.’

(Interview excerpt. Peter. 29 January 2017)

But the Showman’s business relies on making each site their temporary home and leaving without a trace when the show is over; and so, it is important to live by this stable routine.

As a counterpart to this transient way of life, Showpeople often face marginalisation; ‘continuously’ on the move, the travelling fairground is perpetually placed on the outskirts of society, literally and figuratively. This association with the social periphery relegates Showpeople to a place of transgression, where travellers are commonly understood to pose a threat to the social moral order: ‘[they cross] boundaries between spaces and [affect] the surety afforded to settled life in ‘static’ places’ (Terranova-Webb, 2010: 76). Though in reality, Scotland’s Showpeople transform sites of routine mobility into spaces of indulgence and pleasure for the fairgoer. What results are different types of mobility for the fairgoer and the Showman; while Showmen experience a static nomadism influenced by tradition, the fair-goer experiences one of momentary *ad-hoc* affect. For Showmen each movement is planned and controlled; it is a repetitive mobility (Terranova-Webb, 2010). Fairgoers, meanwhile, remember their experiences: ‘the smells are particularly lingering. For days after the fair is gone, all I think

about is the smell of freshly made donuts covered in sugar, but the site is gone' (Interview excerpt. Perry. 10 August 2017). This difference in perspective between Showman and fairgoer alters practices of mobility in the fairground from static to *ad-hoc* and back again and introduces a continuous rebuilding between the people, materials, and memories moving through the fairground space. Each stationary location thus disrupting the travelling fairground's mobility process (Terranova-Webb, 2010).

While these fairgrounds 'only exist for the duration of the performance ... [they] constitute a sense of belonging and understanding for many people who participate in their making' (Morton, 2005: 662). These processes of preparation, travel, and production allow Showpeople to find identity in their work; a repetitive mobility in space and motion, a static mobility performed by the actors of the fair.

6.3. Intensities of mobility: transformations of place and space

For the fairgoer it is a different story... Travelling fairs have the ability to completely alter the atmosphere of the places they visit, transforming sedentary sites into 'mobile' places for fleeting moments of time. Car parks, villages, and boulevards are transformed into atmospheric 'pleasure-lands' designed to enthrall, mesmerise and shock. Spaces known for their everyday use are turned upside down with the arrival of this temporary *ad-hoc* phenomenon (Downie, 1998). Flashing, pulsating, blinking lights, and vibrant, energetic music bring the fair alive. People from all walks of life are transported from reality to a world of amusement, pleasure and mysticism. For a moment, they lose themselves in the 'magical' atmospheres of the fair. The fairground creates a realm of movement and transgression. Mechanised, illuminated, and amplified thrills generate dynamic spaces of colour, light and sound. These technologies transport the bodies of passengers to travel time; movement not only animating riders, but also the imagery of the surrounding landscape (Bissell, 2007). In this regard, it can be argued that travelling fairs personify enchantment and transformation under the guise of 'now you see me, now you don't' (Trowell, 2017b: 212). A precursor to the 'pop-up' space if you will; a grassroots creation of artistry represented across history and time as entertainment (Edensor, *et.al*, 2009).

Created originally as an Easter celebration, the St. Andrews Lammas Fair originated in 1153. Having been bestowed Royal Charter by King Malcolm, it is the oldest surviving fair in Scotland, occupying pride of place in the heart of St. Andrews (NFCA, 2020). Today, it boasts a mixture of food kiosks, joints, hooplas and fairground rides designed to enchant and thrill; the High Street transforming every April, into a carnivalesque space. When Showpeople arrive to

set up, the historic Highstreet goes from a world of antiquity and grandeur, to one of chaos, frivolity and mayhem. Each ride is erected inches away from shops, houses, and churches, only a fraction of a centimetre separating modernity from history (Fig. 6.2).



Fig. 6.2: Old meets new, St. Andrews Lammas Fair, 13 August 2017. Source: Author's Own.

A booming avenue filled to the brim with people milling around the streets takes over:

‘A vibrant, energetic atmosphere fills the space. People are laughing, screaming, and shouting; some are crying, others talking. Crowds are moving, and people walking. I am eating, watching, doing, and playing. Others are winning or losing; children are falling and climbing. It is a jumble of actions, emotions, feelings and experiences. The space is vibrant, bright, loud, noisy, and musical; there are people everywhere. It is seething, crowded, and busy; there is a definite hubbub; an energy of elation, even fear. A sensory atmosphere; an organised chaos, and its own transformative space’
(Ethnographic excerpt, St. Andrews Lammas Fair. 12 August 2017)

The chaos, amusement, and pleasure create a transformation of place: ‘the existing town patters are forgotten, and surroundings are thrown into shadow as the dream intensifies’ (Braithwaite,

1976: 21-22). The St. Andrews tober is an amalgamation of many elements; rides, stalls, joints, and vehicles all coming together to create a space utterly paradoxical to the everyday environment. Located in the centre of town, these fairs merge old and new in the same space. Lorries and living vans at the boundary supply light and power, connected through lengths of cable installed underfoot. Like defences, they create a divide between the fairground and the world that lies beyond – a door to the world of the carnival. The daily environment is thrown into disarray and suffused with vibrancy:

‘When the fair comes to town the whole town changes. It’s something totally different. Normally the town is full of students and families, but when the fair comes, everybody comes together. And people from surrounding areas come through to enjoy it. It’s funny, because St. Andrews is so quiet normally and when the fairground comes to town, it’s just manic. Everything is insane. It’s like a town on speed.’

(Interview excerpt. Tony. 10 August 2017)

The visitor experiences the street as a ‘landscape of ... pleasures, infused with [mobility]: multi directional crowd flows, the movement of ride machinery, and the body itself in motion’ (Kane, 2013, 204) all alter the perception of, and encounters with, space. As a place that amalgamates past, present and future in its mobilities, the St. Andrews fairground provides a wide range of entertainment.

Historically a space of performance, the travelling fair progressed to showcase a world of human marvel. People became caught up in the ‘insatiable, esoteric consumerism’ (Hoffman, 2005: 78) as the fairground introduced spaces of voyeurism and consumption, producing both reflective and restorative nostalgia. Today, people coming and going, riding, moving through space, laughing or shrieking, introduce a constant mobility to the fair: ‘the spirit of gaiety and emotional excitement must be manufactured – via scenery, light shows and buildings. An ‘other world’, a fantastic fairyland ... must be created’ (Weinstein, 1992: 138). Different attractions emphasise the importance of illusion and atmosphere; people and mobility challenging the static-ness of place: ‘It’s just amazing, everything is fleeting. You come to the fair for a day and then the next it’s just a car park again. You forget ... you’re transported’ (Interview excerpt. Tony. 10 August 2017). This Bakhtinian atmosphere of the fairground suspends time and space to create an incomparable tober, commonly associated with ephemeral pleasures, wherein a connection between material and the body engenders a sensory landscape rooted in the proximity between buildings, and the fairs capacity to fashion a sensory tober.

Pearson and Shanks (2001: 24) contend that ‘bodies not only move in, but generate, spaces produced by and through their movements’; embodied performances of movement at the fair [produced by Showmen, enthusiasts, and fairgoers alike] create an atmospheric mobility unique to the fairground space. Within a fairground setting atmospheres experienced by the fairgoer, generate affectual qualities that change space. Fairground designs are created to be diverse in their animation, colour, and form, so that space and affect can temporarily alter subjectivity. Beyond that, fairground atmospheres are engrained in sensory, affective experiences; thus, travelling fairs manifest tensions between the material and immaterial by defamiliarizing place:

‘we create something that is distinct from anything you have ever seen. Everything that we do, is to generate a place, a time, an ... atmosphere, atmosphere, that’s right, that is exceptional ... we want to [affect] people, to make them experience something different ... It’s supposed to be unique, fun.’
(Interview excerpt. Peter. 29 February 2017)

For a moment, fairgoers lose themselves in transgression as atmosphere is figured as a ‘co-presence’ between social constraints and carnivalesque. Emotions are made present through tensions of place ‘between the watcher and watched, interior and exterior, the invisible and the visible’ (Wylie, 2009: 278). The travelling fairground thus, becomes a manifestation of emotion, experienced through sensory immersion.

But beyond this, I argue that at the fair, corporeal interaction with material shapes atmosphere and transforms space. Drawing on Davidson *et.al*, (2011) I suggest that riding on rides, eating food, and taking part in place shapes the affective atmosphere of the fairgrounds as sites to be transgressed. More specifically, the technological element of the fair allows for an ‘energetic outcome of encounters between bodies in particular places’ (Conradson, 2007: 232). Being-with material in these spaces, constructs affect as an integral component in shaping fairgoers experiences; in this vein, technology generates space where ‘affect emerges as a real relation between bodies, objects, and technologies’ (Bissell, 2010: 272), that take hold. Here, we can once again argue that the fairs mobility generates places of transgression on the periphery of society. In uniting opposing spaces, natures, and dichotomies, I argue that the fairground is a site of misalliance: a space of modernity and ‘otherness’ designed to enthrall, thrill, and enchant.

6.4. Mobility in the fairground space: mechanics of motion

The transport revolution has been a major influence in the fairs' success, and an incomparable feature of revolutionary entertainment. The nineteenth century, in particular, witnessed new key forces: namely, steam and electricity. Marvels of the industrial revolution shaped the fair as an unmatched space wherein vivid colours, brilliant lights and booming music became all-encompassing. Today, travelling fairgrounds generate mobility through their mechanised materials; primarily in the shape of rides, amusements, food-stalls, joints, living wagons, generators, and articulated lorries. Constructed from wooden planks, plastic light fittings, hi-fi sound systems, wheels, and cogs, to name a few, each ride introduces a complex network of people, machines, and place. Rides such as 'the Waltzer' (Fig. 6.3) and the 'Merry-go-round', loop, whirl, dance, and soar people through the air as material manifestations of mobility.



Fig. 6.3: Waltzer, Kirkcaldy Links Market, 19 April 2017. Source: Author's Own.

These experiences highlight the embodied nature of these rides, challenging both the human body, and in turn the senses, to move freely through spaces. Engagement with these rides is a deeply embodied experience as they alter perceptions of colour and shapes of space; they are complex elements of 'materiality and immateriality: solidity of fixtures appears to contrast with the radiating energy that animates and suffuses space' (Edensor, 2012: 1107). These technologies transporting bodies of fairgoers to travel through time; here, movement of materials bring alive the static-ness of the fair, creating a mobile landscape. This in turn, influences the way people encounter and move through the fair, creating a distinct mobility

network of people, materials and place. Antonio, a Kirkcaldy resident and fair enthusiast equates the fair with ‘being somewhere else’. An escape from reality manifested in the free movement of each ride:

‘It’s like everything is constantly moving. And every ride has its own way of moving you. The chair-o-planes are the best. You sit still one minute, then you’re flying through the air, suspended, circling, above everything – it’s blurry, spinning continuously.’

(Interview excerpt. Antonio. 21 April 2017)

Processes of interaction between materials and humans bring the fair alive. Here, Husserl’s (1989) concept ‘of the lived body (Leib) as separate from the corporeal body (Körper)’ (Li, 2015: iv) helps to shape the body as a ‘site of feeling and experience ... socially embedded’ (Pile, 2010: 11). For a moment, fairgoers lose themselves in the ‘magical’ atmospheres of the fair. I myself experienced something almost indescribable:

‘Being shot into the air at high speed, only to be rotated at what feels like a million miles per hour, is not something that can be aptly translated into coherent sentences. Your body feels as if it is free falling through the air, only a bungee cord between you and nothingness. This motion is unlike anything I have ever experienced. It is a continuous turning, soaring through the air, a motion of movement otherwise foreign to the human body. Something distinct from the static environment encountered on a daily basis with two feet firmly on the ground. This motion is stomach churning. It is fear inducing. It is weightless. It is aerodynamic. It is what I imagine flying to be like, just without the added assistance of wings.’

(Fieldwork excerpt. Dumfries Rood Fair. 30 September 2017)

Motion creates transformation and stimulates elation:

‘I don’t know what it is, well really I know it’s my endorphins, I think, but still. It’s like going on a ride frees you from something. It makes you so happy. All the adrenaline really gets your blood pumping.’

(Interview excerpt. Lex. 11 June 2017)

Stepping outside of reality for mere moments transforms space and creates a world removed from the constraints of everyday occurrences to create a phenomenon only understandable via sensory perception. There is no limit to the experience they create.

Mechanical horses and ornately carved carriages are essential elements of the merry-go-round’s fabric. The artwork on rounding boards and coloured lights combined with rolling movement, generates an emotional and sensory experience grounded in mobility (Braithwaite,

1976). It is a vernacular artistry, one created by detail, and inspired by different artforms; showcased in the beautiful design of horses, or more recently in designs of Disney characters. An artistry that showcases tradition and craft, designed to represent elements of the past in technologies of the future (Jones, 2013). The merry-go-round creates an experience of motion unique to its structure, spinning clockwise around a central cone. Comprised of wood, leather, metal, and paint, it is a materiality with complex underlying mobility networks. The recent implementation of more complex electric systems represents modernity. The motor hidden inside the central cone, turns the cogs, spurring it to life. Dissecting through the wooden horses, metal rods attach to a central pole that drives the carousel (refer to Fig. 6.4).

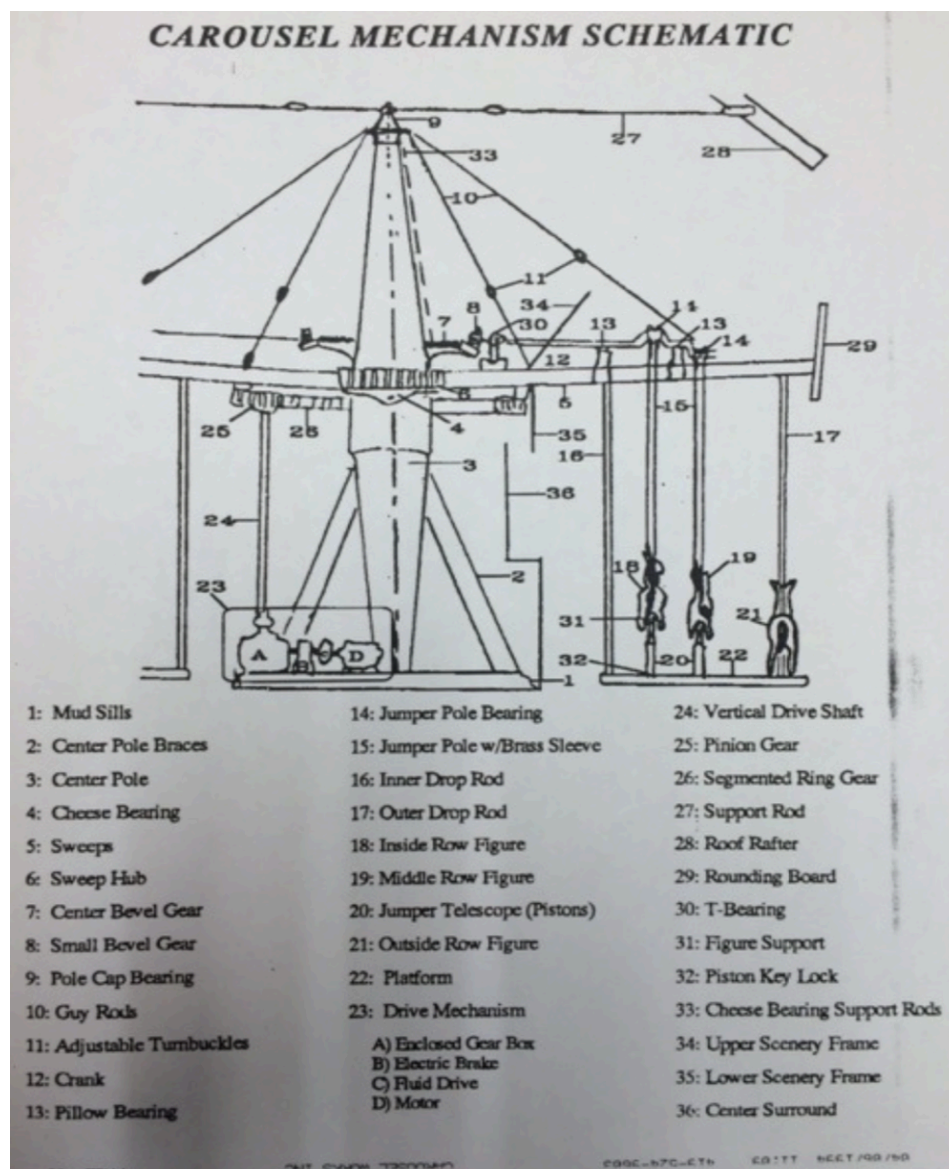


Fig. 6.4: Carousel Mechanism Schematic. Carousel Works Inc. 1994. Reproduced with permission from the Central Park Conservancy.

These intricate mechanical systems merge together to give the carousel its distinctive motion. It represents a different kind of experience, one rooted in emotional connection over thrill. Historically, carousels were created to be extravagant and indulgent. Still today, a romantic nostalgia befalls this ride: ‘every time I hear the merry-go-round waltz it reminds me of my grandmother ... it was our activity’ (Interview excerpt. Sam. 14 April 2017). For Sam this ride evokes a reflective nostalgia, remembering fondly the times he shared with grandmother. More generally, nostalgia, associated with technologies of transport or movement and is often something captured in experiences of train travel by steam engine; but it is also present in the revolutions of the merry-go-round. Thus, today, old-world forms of mobility are a way for generations to come together; to share experiences and memories in place.

Comparatively, the roller coaster is a popular ride for feelings of ecstasy. Designed to build tensions by rising slowly before falling at high speed, the roller coaster teases thrill, forcing the body to release a rush of endorphins. This gigantic thrill ride is known for inducing many an affectual experience, its motion generated by technology designed for excitement. Everything is created to move and glide, up and down, twisting and turning, inspiring exhilaration. For many fairgoer’s it is the pinnacle of the fair’s success:

‘The roller coaster is the best bit. I love being thrown up and down. I’m a real adrenaline junkie and I love it. It’s fantastic! There’s nothing as good as being shot through the air and spun up and down constantly.’

(Interview excerpt. Wade. 20 December 2017)

It creates a motion far-removed from any other. The feeling of being turned inside out, of weightlessness, of unrivalled or unparalleled speed; a sense of insecurity in motion, of not knowing what to expect. The rollercoaster is uncertainty mechanised; a physical manifestation of impermanence.

The traveling fairs success very much depends on satisfying the fairgoers insatiable appetite for multi-sensory experiences, solidified in motion. Philips (2012) argues that search for thrill is embodied in perceptions of danger and speed and creates an experience removed from semblances of reality. For fairgoers it is a momentary escape, a chance to let go and live freely. Thus, the mobility of rides creates a tober distinct from regular time and space.

6.5. Geographies of mobility of, and in, the fair

The turn of the twentieth century brought with it the rise of modernity, wherein shock value and bodily thrill rose in attractiveness as cities became desensitised to their environments. Throughout history, the fair has operated as a ‘pop-up’ of pleasure rooted in taste, fashioning atmospheric experiences for all who attended. It is a literal representation of vernacular creativity and celebration of artistry (Jones, 2013); a heritage inspired by an array of artistic design. Today, people weaving through the carefully constructed maze of hooplas, rides, joints, and lorries, challenge regular constructions of the everyday space. This movement brings to life the fairground space in its own way, suffusing mechanical motion with human mobility; thus, it is not just affected by movement, but rather is mobile itself.

The daily routines of the travelling fairground presented in this chapter, illustrate how Showpeople continue to be placed on the margins of society, their mobility patterns figured as a threat in mainstream society. Further to this, they also generate a static mobility in place. In this way, static mobility is experienced as and played through repeated patterns and movements, creating relationships between the manifold materials and memories of the travelling fairground. Drawing on Terranova-Webb (2010) and Sibley (1985), mobility becomes about moving between spaces, crossing boundaries and ‘troubling’ them in the process. Fairs are literally located on peripheral boundaries; placed on the margin with Showpeople themselves being figured as outsiders of mainstream society. The mobile perspective presented throughout this chapter illustrates that it is the performances expressed at the fair, and the convergence of material, memory, and people that engender this static mobility of, and in, Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds. Geographically, there is a paradox to be identified here. Within mainstream society, Showpeople are configured as a threat due to their continued travel; through, as demonstrated in ‘6.2. *Continuous static mobility*’, their repeated practices can be understood and reconfigured as stable practices. Beyond this, the world of the fair merges public and private spaces challenging the moral order and routine conventions on everyday space. In bringing together popular culture with abject spaces, they create sites on the fringe. Perhaps, then, we could even interpret these as reflections of domesticity practiced nationwide by sedentary society.

Mobility, in its most basic form, generates connections between networks that substantiate the fairground as a mobile entity in society. Material objects, in the form of rides, stalls, and joints, become non-human actors shaping atmosphere. From the perspective of emotional and affective geographies, the body is an essential element in shaping place and sharing experience. We engage haptically with the fairground, touching and encountering spaces

in different ways. These are manufactured spaces, designed to create mobility and bodily engagement. Consequently, the fairground becomes a symbol of mobility through both its human *and* non-human actors as they are afforded agency as spaces of movement. Subsequently, I argue that every fairground is made mobile, in creating spaces to be transgressed.

Chapter 7. Sound and Voice: sensory perceptions and vocal recollections of the fair

Sound, and its strategic deployment, is a particular source of sensory enchantment, serving to enhance rides, entertain customers, and create an auditory atmosphere. Ranging from techno beats to traditional polkas, and blagging Showmen to screaming children, each amplified recording and human voice builds and adds to the creation of the fairground soundscape. Philosophies of site as something being ‘saturated’ with atmosphere introduce ‘more-than-representational’ (Lorimer 2005) or non-representational (Thrift, 2008) experiences, place sense and affect as inter-relational subjective phenomena (Pile, 2010). These geographies are communicated through the voices and sounds of the fairground; oral histories, stories, and tales of the fair, bringing to life non-representational experiences. For the purposes of this chapter, the concept of sound can be understood as: ‘waves or vibrations that travel via different mediums and are consumed aurally’ (Suisman and Strasser, 2010: 4), while voice is presented as: ‘a complex [oral] phenomenon used to communicate a vast array/range of commands, emotions, and understandings’ (Lazzarato, 2009: 1). Sound and voice are fundamental to the fairground experience where they are designed to shape interaction and generate atmospheres. In simpler terms, sound is symbolic, while voice is the sounds we make (i.e. voices heard in the fair’s soundscape). Throughout the subsections that follow, I argue that the tober of the fairground creates a unique experience, wherein sound and voice become symbiotic, influencing people’s memories and histories.

‘7.1. *Sound: sensory manifestation of the travelling fairground*’ explores sound as integral to understanding the travelling fairground space. Fairground noise and sound in all its forms evokes memories generated by sensory stimulants. Noise here is defined and ‘can be understood as that constant grating sound generated by the movement between the abstract and the empirical’ (Kahn, 1999: 25); wherein the ‘practice of listening is fundamental’ (Rodaway, 1994: 84). Using the Ghost Train as an example, I explore how fairs create different atmospheres through mechanical sound, song choice, and human voice, recognising that each fair has its own memories, and sensory atmosphere. Conclusively, this chapter attempts to define sound in a fairground context, as well as consider relevant theories around sound and sensory experience to examine the ever-changing fairground.

Meanwhile, ‘7.2. *Voice: memories and embodied nostalgia of the fairground space*’, implements Kanngieser’s (2012) concept of the voice as a conduit of affect, to understand the

nostalgia generated by Scotland's travelling fairgrounds. In particular, I focus on the voices of the fair through time, looking at the role of popular culture in shaping sound, as well as the memories of Showpeople, enthusiasts and fairgoers alike. Here, I argue that it is through these voices that the geographies of the fair (affect, mobility, and materiality) are grounded and come to life. The chapter's three sections to follow have their own foci: '7.2.1. *Showpeople: voices of the past, present, and future*' engages with the voices of Showpeople as personifications of tradition and heritage; '7.2.2. *Fair-going publics: voices of memory, nostalgia, and emotion*' argues that the voices of the fairgoer generate a nostalgic and affective narrative; while '7.2.3. *Enthusiasts: voices of knowledge, enthusiasm and conservation*' understands the voices of the enthusiast as manifestations of interest and [attempted] preservation; finally, I focus on how these voices come together to create the fair landscape.

Simultaneously, the chapters speak to the relationship between sound, atmosphere, and memory as conjoined and inseparable at the fair. The establishment of voice presents insights into memory, affect and heritage; therefore, this subsection argues that voice plays a vital role in connecting and creating fairground landscapes. As a central focus throughout this chapter, changing sounds and voices of the fairground generate memory and corporeality. Focusing on the history and creation of different sounds, this chapter brings together sound and voice to argue that these intertwine to create an atmosphere rooted in experiences of sound and communicated through voice.

7.1. Sound: sensory manifestation of the travelling fairground

Böhme (2016: 105) introduces sound as a phenomenon experienced and encountered corporeally as an 'objective sensation spilled into space'; it is an atmosphere of 'living space', empirically felt. At the fair, this atmosphere is communicated through various sounds coming together in an eclectic cacophony of noise:

'You can hear the fairground before you can even see it: screaming fairgoers, blagging Showmen, techno-music, and the occasional polka song, coupled with the latest 'banging' tune, ring out through the air. Fairgoers animatedly chat, laugh, and scream, musing about the experiences that await. A distinct 'whooshing' rhythm fills the air as rides rotate through the air, flying backwards and forwards in a dizzying arrangement. 'Are you ready to rumble?' – the distinct blag of the Showman entices the crowd. A steady bass beat rings through the air, shaking the ground. All at once it is an overwhelming sound, forging together to create a sound narrative, unique to the fair.'

(Ethnographic excerpt. Dumfries Rood Fair. 30 September 2017)

The sound of the fairground is distinctive: a blend of noises that requires a sensory response. Its ‘perceivable acoustic environment, or soundscape’ (Trowell, 2017a: n.p.), can be categorised as four distinct elements: synthetic noise, visceral reactions, voices, and natural sound (see also: Trowell, 2018). Synthetic elements speak to music, sound effects, and mechanical production; visceral reactions encompass screams, laughter, and shouting; voice reflects the speech, memories, and vocalisations of both its audience and makers; while natural sound, encompasses natural noises from surrounding environments. Each is perceived and experienced variously across the fairground soundscape, brought together in a cacophony of sensations. Rodaway (1994) contends, that in order to engage with auditory atmospheres, we must interact with space through the process of hearing. Drawing on Schafer (1994) he argues that sound can be experienced as one of two resonances; either a hi-fi soundscape, or a lo-fi soundscape. Hi-fi soundscapes allow us to hear clearly different resonances and sounds, while lo-fi soundscapes present themselves as a hum of noise, a blend in which distinct sounds are rarely heard. Throughout this chapter, I argue that the fair is both the former and the latter; experienced across individual rides and the fair spaces itself, respectively. In this space, sound is dynamic, intensely felt and experienced. At the fairground, the amalgamation of these characteristics proves difficult to discern individually, and additionally, reflect a unified character of sound. Focusing on the different types of sound that are produced at the fair, the following subsections draw a comparison between mechanised and human sounds, proposing that these change the way we encounter the fairground space.

7.1.1. The fairground soundscape

The travelling fairground has its own soundscape: a distinct aural atmosphere: a landscape and atmosphere created, characterised, and distinguished by different and unique types of sound. At the fair, the soundscape is integral to creating atmosphere embedding fairgoers in place through shared experiences of sound and resulting sensations of belonging (Rodaway, 1994). Travelling fair spaces are renowned for their use of sound to attract, enthrall, and amuse fairgoers, with each fairground creating a new soundscape dependent upon the combination of rides, stalls, and people. These soundscapes help to reconfigure everyday places as spaces of atmosphere, by shaping experiences between body and site; a concept further explored in ‘7.1.3. *Body: the voice as sound*’.

Throughout its history, the type of music and resulting sound, of the fairground has changed; much like taste (both haptic and social), music developed with popular cultural trends and progress in technology. Juliet, an amateur historian inspired by vintage fairground sheet music, reflects:

‘Until the 1940s music was played across the fair on panatropes ... you didn’t have any of this new bass-beat music. It was much more jovial ... a lot lighter [so to speak] ... you know, it was a combination of hand-turned organs, or ones that played pre-designed sheets on a loop. Then technology changed; so, music became louder and faster. Now it’s just whatever is on the radio.’

(Interview excerpt. Juliet. 12 December 2017)

These changes have variously shaped the fairground soundscape over time, calling on synthetic, vocal, and natural elements to enhance their atmospheres (see also: Trowell, 2018).

During the fair’s foundation period in the thirteen-hundreds, the use of voice and occasional instruments provided an auditory accompaniment to live stage shows (Downie, 1998). These enhanced Showmen’s spiels, providing an aural atmosphere: ‘The music helped to set the scene, create a story ... [the] Showman would blag, put on a show; the music lifted it and made it a new performance each time’ (Interview excerpt. Felix. 29 February 2017). These manufactured soundscapes enlivened Showmen’s performances, while also sustaining atmosphere between performances.

The ‘Golden Age’ of the fairground, meanwhile, sparked a change in sound that continued to inspire Showpeople for years to come: ‘the organ changed the fair atmosphere ... it became much more sensory ... and Showmen could focus on enhancing their persona and stage presence. Made the whole business easier’ (Interview excerpt. Tommy. 15 March 2017).²² Originally hand-crafted in the 1940s, the Thomas’ family organ (Fig. 7.1) played an assortment of melodies brought to life through scores of sheet music; Waltzes, Polkas, and British music-hall tunes rang out, its cadences and crescendos musically echoing the movement of the ride.

²² As outlined in ‘*Travelling fairgrounds in Britain: a brief historical geography*’, the ‘Golden Age’ of the travelling fairground in Britain occurred between 1850 and 1950.



Fig. 7.1: Thomas' family carousel organ. Source: Author's Own.

At the travelling fair, the organ was a novel feature designed to take fairgoers on a journey:

‘we wanted them to experience the ride ... slower at the start, so when rides really got going they would sense a change ... volume was critical – getting louder during fast sections to heighten reactions’

(Interview excerpt. Ginger. 15 March 2017)

These musical choices fashioned an intensified sensory environment (see also: Magdanz, 2003).

In 1953 the fairground soundscape was transfigured by ‘The Atmosphere Creator’; a ‘Maxwell Company’ Waltzer with an in-built record system (Trowell, 2017a).²³ Rooted in music with different rhythms, this new sound presented popular music to the fairground setting. However, it was not until 1977 that the modern fairgrounds signature ‘heavy-beat’ sound developed (see also: Trowell, 2017a):

‘It was a deep bass beat and electric techno. And then it was rhythm and an electric beat. No more instrumental soundtracks – it was all replaced by music with catchy lyrics.’

(Interview excerpt. Samuel. 28 March 2017)

This music with a ‘clear rhythmic structure [had] ... no beginning or end’ (Trowell, 2017a: n.p.); it was a looped rhythmic beat. An aural manifestation of fairgoers endless sensory enchantment in the fairground space.

Throughout the 1980s, the fairground continued to embrace this animated sound through music based on popular rave styles. Techno and electronica, shaped fairground spaces so that they became socially synonymous with the club scene: ‘the fairground manifests a nightclub environment ... loud, heart-racing, high-energy noise ... drugs, alcohol. What you’d find traditionally [in a nightclub]’ (Interview excerpt. Benjamin. 31 October 2017). Here, it must be stated that the comparable sense of euphoria associated with the clubbing scene and the fairground was not accidental: ‘everything is designed to attract ... to create spaces unlike reality. Music creates another dimension to the atmosphere’ (Interview excerpt. Albert. 12 November 2017). Akin to the heady rush at the club produced by the consumption of intoxicants of differing sort (alcohol, drugs), at the fairground the ride itself serves as a substitute for the effect of ‘being off your head’ or more colloquially ‘aff yer heid’; using music to engender an atmosphere that fosters pejorative actions: ‘there’s no room for inhibition ... it’s tempting, freeing ... so if they want a beat that’s what you give them. You let them rave’ (Interview excerpt. Albert. 12 November 2017).

Today’s fairground sound is an amalgamation of past and present, enthralling fairgoers with animated rhythms and wild bass beats (Trowell, 2017a). Progressions and advancements in technology have culminated in modern interpretations of music, generating a fully embodied, multi-sensory experience in place; these musical atmospheres inviting transgression.

²³ The Maxwell Company is a renowned family corporation that construct fairground rides; particularly, Waltzers (Trowell, 2017a).

Alongside music, fairs comprise synthetic noises, mechanically generated effects, and natural resonances to generate a specific sound:

‘The bass rings out shaking the floor. It is loud, bracing even. Speakers in the distance shouting ‘are you ready to rumble’. In the background, a low hum, occasionally overlain with a sharp whining – generators working to power these thrill rides to life. A faint popping noise alludes to fresh popcorn, while the merry jingle of an electronic tune signals triumph. Somewhat surprisingly, I can hear the current of the River Nith as it rushes by – a clear indication of past rainfall. Beside me, children are animatedly chatting; excited by the prospect of what is to come. While up above, the presence of scavenging seagulls is signified by their tell-tale squawk. It is a contradictory soundscape; one bridging the physical landscapes of Dumfries with the mechanical world of the ‘pleasure-land’. An aural cacophony; a concerto of its very own.’

(Ethnographic excerpt. Dumfries Rood Fair. 29 September 2017)

Sound forms connections weaving the individual fairgoer into the larger social fabric of the fairground space. This ‘associative and connective process of sound’ (LaBelle, 2010: xxi) reconfigures the fair landscape as ‘conversations’ between memory and self, human and non-human. Consequently, the ‘fairground offers a complex soundscape’ (Trowell, 2017a: n.p.) incorporating both atmospheric noise and diverse musical arrangements, that reflects the voices of those inherently entwined in its creation: Showpeople, enthusiasts, and fairgoers.

7.1.2. The Ghost Train

At the fair, synthetic sound enhances sensory perception by teasing people’s emotions. This is an idea also proposed by Trowell (2017a) who suggests an individual ride creates its own microenvironment. Here, human and non-human sounds generating a particular hi-fi soundscape; while Trowell (2017a) focuses on the Waltzer, I position the Ghost Train (Fig. 7.2) as a distinct and noteworthy example.



Fig.7.2: Participating in place: ghost train at Kirkcaldy Links Market. 22 April 2017. Source: Author's Own.

As a whole, this ride uses sound to intensify a visceral, embodied experience based on bodily reactions and ‘jump-scares’. Here, we can call on Rodaway (1994) and Shafer (1997) to understand this element as a hi-fi soundscape. Contained within the ride itself, it is easy to identify different noises and sounds, expressed within the ride: pre-recorded doors creaking, ticking clocks, evil laughter, and sudden, loud bangs are used to support and enhance material and sensory aspects of the ride, such as wind blowing across riders faces, and ghosts appearing suddenly from their hidden locations. More specifically, a range of switchboards loop pre-recorded sounds to scare riders:

‘The sounds make the ride. The whole experience centres on the quality of sound effects ... gentle tapping, heavy breathing, and sudden pulses are the most effective ... but it depends on the combination. You have to make sure you line your sounds up just right to coincide with the motions, or it doesn’t work.’

(Interview excerpt. Samuel. 30 October 2017)

These synthetic and mechanical noises build the sensory experience of the fairgoer, merging with their visceral reactions to form a micro-soundscape; what Trowell (2017a) terms a contained sound atmosphere.

On top of that, the Ghost Train generates additional ‘microcosmic social scenes’ (Trowell, 2017a: n.p.) inside the carriages expressed as internalised and projected sound (see also: Trowell, 2018); arguably, the heart of the whole ride:

‘Across all rides really, but especially this one [Ghost Train] you’ve got the whole ride, and then each individual car ... you get different experiences because everyone has a different reaction ... depending on who they’re with ... laugh, cry, shout, scream, cover their eyes and sit in silence. You get it all.’

(Interview excerpt. Samuel. 28 March 2017)

I argue that the Ghost Train can be understood as a representation of Foucault’s (1967) construction of worlds within worlds. A microcosmic environment within the larger space of the fair; a sound world within a larger soundscape (see also: Trowell, 2018). The contained, microcosmic soundscape helps to generate the specific atmosphere of the ride, while also contributing to the unique atmosphere that exists within the larger fairground space:

‘Hearing other people scream just makes it much scarier ... because you don’t know whether they’re in front of you or behind you. You don’t know whether they’re screaming at something you’ve already seen or are yet to see.’

(Interview excerpt. Clark. 23 October 2017)

Beyond that, these microcosmic scenes in effect produce their own atmosphere:

‘It was uncanny, almost like there were particular elements or levels of sound. Most clearly, I could hear the noises of Bruce and Jean, my fellow ride-passengers. Bruce was laughing maniacally, while Jean was silent, her knuckles completely white. Next to that, I could hear the clanking of our car as it rattled along the track; a ping here, a crack there, and the gentle thud of bodies being moved across the seats. Sounds came blaring through the speakers: a gentle whistling wind, heavily overlain with creaking doors, ghoulish cackles, and auto-tuned screams. At particular places in the ride you could hear the tell-tale creak or snap of a ‘jump-scare’ popping out ... Then there was the noise of the other carriages – the clicking of cogs as they rose up the ramp, the clanking of the wheels as they ran along the track, and most of all the screams, laughs, and shrieks of the people as lived their experiences. All these individual sounds, mechanical and human, coming together in this one ride.’

(Ethnographic excerpt. Kirkcaldy Links Market. 22 April 2017)

The Ghost Train is constructed to be unfamiliar and mysterious it ‘replicates experiences that produce anxiety ... suggest[ing] transgression and danger while remaining entirely safe’ (Philips, 2012: 103). Communicated through particular elements of synthetic sound, it generates an atmosphere both within the ride *and* within the fair space, manifest through corporeal and sensory engagement.

Though the Ghost Train is a wonder of its own, arguably, the internalising and projection of sound is felt across all rides and machines at the fair; each giving the impression of generating its own atmospheric field that feeds into, and adds to, the creation of the fairs soundscape, allowing self, space, and music to embed in place (see also: Trowell, 2018).

But the Ghost Train comes together based on more than just sound. In fact, the secret of its success lies firmly in the carefully planned production of a sensory overload – the very manifestation of a ‘show’ within a ride.

Originating from Ghost Shows [former sideshow attractions] and from ‘dark rides’, such as the Tunnel of Love, punters have long found entertainment in horror and awe (DFHC, 2020). Inspired in part by the ‘grotesque’ nature of freakshows, and by the paranormal ventures of Ghost Shows, the Ghost Train offers fairgoers a spooky illusion – a glimpse into a world unknown.²⁴ The traditional British Ghost Train made its first appearance at Blackpool’s Pleasure Beach, debuting in 1930. This much-loved fairground staple did not make its debut at the travelling fairground until the 1940s, though did not last long – its’ difficult and demanding construction proved challenging, and by the 1960s Ghost Trains had virtually disappeared from the travelling fair scene (DFHC, 2020).

Notably, a recent increase in popularity of the horror genre in popular culture has seen a significant revitalisation in Ghost Trains. While they are not as popular as other rides such as the Waltzer, they have once again become a staple feature of most modern fairs. Significant changes to their production, has resulted in a simplified build process, with most existing as lorry mounted contraptions. Behind the scenes, there exists a space filled to the brim with electronic ghouls and ghosts fashioned out of fitted sheets, illuminated by sudden bursts of light. In the light of day, it is easy to spot the generated mechanism that brings these creatures to life; but in the dark, the allure of the unknown takes hold.

²⁴ The use of the word ‘grotesque’ to describe freakshows (and additionally the word freakshows) do not represent the author’s own opinions, but rather are sourced directly from vernacular of the time and are included solely as illustrative material.

My own fascination with the Ghost Train stems from the unknowable element that accompanies this space: every Ghost Train is different and so there is no way of knowing what to expect in the dark. Traditional dark rides, and particularly Ghost Trains, call for an immersive experience – an uninhibited venture into another world; the acceptance that your experience rests firmly in the capacities of a flawlessly programmed ‘show’ (see also: DFHC, 2020). All notions of reality go out the window and all inhibitions and expectations are left behind – their appeal resting in the capacity to frighten, astound, chill, or enthrall.

7.1.3. Body: the voice as sound

A vitally important producer of sound is the human body; Boyd and Duffy (2012) contend that body and space synthetically create and respond to the fairground’s rhythmic atmosphere. The voice is complexly used to disseminate a vast array of emotions and understandings. It is a bodily manifestation of affect, designed to saturate surrounding space in multiple registers and the most direct means of expression: ‘affective... forces are firstly expressed by the voice’ (Lazzarato, 2009: 1). Voice has the capacity to open up spaces, and connect people in place, as well as engendering particular experiences; from the perspective of non-vocal, or rather guttural sound, it is a way to communicate without words. A bodily noise expressed simply through immediate visceral reaction. Therefore, we must consider not only the bodies’ capacity to produce noise viscerally and emotionally, but also sound represented by forms of traditional fairground dialogue: termed below as ‘blagging’ and ‘screaming’.

7.1.3.1. Blagging

In their daily lives, Showpeople’s voices are an important means of communication; a way of selling their trade. They share their gift of the gab (colloquially known as blagging) with fairgoers, utilising it as their greatest selling point: ‘If you can’t blag, you’re in trouble. It’s the first rule of the trade, blag like your life depends on it ... because it does. If you can’t attract customers, there’s no money’ (Interview excerpt. Tommy. 15 March 2017). At its very core blagging can be understood as the Showman’s spiel: a vocal performance designed to draw customers in; a play on words rehearsed and practiced by generations before. It is a performance, celebrated and practiced through a specific character; one unmasked for the fairground stage. Blagging is heard across rides, food stalls, and hoopla’s, creating atmosphere and inviting fair-going publics to take part. At each form of entertainment, a different blag is employed: ‘you’ve got to play it right. You can’t talk to the crowd the same way ... it has to be specific.’ (Interview

excerpt. Jeremy. 01 March 2017). Often, ride blagging employs a daredevil approach, reflected in calls of ‘scream if you want to go faster’, or ‘put your hands in the air’; comparatively, hoopla blagging is more strategic in nature, tailored to specific audiences: ‘come on up if you think you can beat it’ or ‘a prize for everyone’ are most frequent. Selling food, meanwhile, requires an element of ‘blag-bragging’: ‘come and get the best [insert food of choice] in town’. Across the fair blagging is heard at all levels; microphones at smaller kiosks and hoopla’s, amplified speaker systems at larger rides calling out ‘are you ready to rumble’. Voices, as Thrift and Dewsbury (2000: 334-335) observe, in their variations and tones, both: ‘fill space and are filled by the spaces into which they are projected. They set into motion worlds that encompass physical, psychic, emotional and affective geographies’. In other words, Showpeople’s voices, and their ability to entice customers, create atmosphere by vocalising elements of their trade in the most appealing manner. The voice in this respect serves to encourage audiences to listen, participate and respond. Bakhtin (1968: 68) contends:

‘When the listener perceives and understands the meaning ... of speech, he [she] simultaneously takes an active, responsive attitude to it ... the listener adopts this responsive attitude for the entire duration of the process of listening and understanding, from the very beginning – sometimes literally from the speaker’s first word’.

In the fairground context, affect is created through listening; when Showmen blag, audiences experience emotional and sensory affect so that a merging of body and atmosphere takes place. This blagging creates its own fairground soundscape, adding to its aural atmosphere as different voices come together.

7.1.3.2. The scream

Meanwhile, the individual fairgoer and enthusiast produce sounds of their very own; in giving themselves over to the fair completely they generate a visceral response. A scream thereby effectively mobilising the body to produce a reaction, and thus, a contribution to the larger soundscape. Visceral and felt responses to the immediate surroundings are for many expressed through vocalisations of the scream. In reacting, the fairgoers voice becomes a part of the atmosphere, re-shaping both soundscape and space. Lois, a regular ghost train rider, offers an insightful reflection: ‘my response is completely natural ... my scream always triggered by a new aspect. I can’t predict what’s going to set me off, but something always does’ (Interview excerpt. Lois. 04 May 2017). The sound itself becomes ambiance, and the body becomes a ‘site

of emotional experience and expression' (Davidson and Milligan, 2004: 523). Interaction with particular rides encourages the body to produce emotions 'that link experiential geographies of the human psyche and physique [to] broader social interactions' (Davidson and Milligan, 2004: 523). Dixon (2011) argues that these non-speech vocalisations are integral to our experience of sound. Visceral, affectual, and emotional responses communicated through guttural [non-speech act] vocalisations, are integral to the fairground soundscape; after all, in this space interaction with sound depends on the fairgoer's reactions to and interactions with, a heavily manufactured atmosphere. Thus, these voices help to generate a new sound, becoming integral to the successful creation of the fairground soundscape. The scream, in particular, enhances Philips (2012) spectral and uncanny qualities of the fairground by separating body from speech. Specifically, 'screaming is taken as a lack of control over the voice... the scream becomes associated with limitlessness and the dissolution of self' (Dixon, 2011: 438). At the fair, 'the scream appears [when] speech fails or is inaccessible' Dixon, 2011: 437), thus it becomes an instinctual reaction to an experience or trigger, communicating that which cannot be put into words. A fairgoers scream is a vocalisation that speaks to the uncanny, hybrid nature of the fair, in its simplest form. While fairgoers actions are inherently susceptible to and influenced by the sounds of the fair, their voices are simultaneously integral to the successful creation of an impactful soundscape.

Here, a further connection can be drawn to geographies of affect, wherein the scream can be reconfigured as an encounter between body and fairground space; a force taking place between bodies, technologies, and spaces. Bissell's (2010: 272) construction of affect as 'the energetic outcomes of encounters between bodies in particular places' positions modern technology as the driving force of atmosphere; at the fair, technology facilitates a range of interactions between materials and bodies, resulting in affect that emerges in particular rides; these significantly shape the experience of fairgoers challenging them to react, with the scream being one of the most prevalent vocalisations.

7.1.4. Fairground architecture of sound

These soundscapes generated by individual makers, materials, and riders, merge to create a cacophony of sound across the entire fairground space. In its capacity to generate a wide range of sounds, the travelling fairground might even be figured as an interactive sound installation 'made up of polyphonic sound spaces, in which individual participants interact with non-human elements to make up sound' (Rubidge and MacDonald, 2004: 1). Inviting fairgoers to engage

interactively with the fairground encourages participants to contribute to the sound of the fair, blurring distinctions between sound and voice. Showpeople, fairgoers, enthusiasts, and non-human actors are constantly interacting with one another, mobilising atmospheres and generating soundscapes in the process (Duffy and Waitt, 2011). Here, a comparison can be made to Doughty, *et.al* (2016) who argue that soundscapes expose how affects and emotions influence interactions between body and site; a co-creation of voice and sound, wherein space is dynamic. At the fair, social understandings, aural understandings, and oral utterances are intertwined, embedded in interactions between actors in its cosmic and microcosmic soundscapes.

While the fairground's hi-fi sound is at its most concentrated within the fairground circuit, it leaks over boundaries too, experienced as lo-fi frequencies; the fairground can be heard (and seen and smelled) well before you enter. This capacity to spill out of its spatial borders merge everyday spaces with experience and memory. Constructed as a contrast to everyday place, the fairground sound becomes a dynamic response to an act of participation within landscape; combined music, voices, visceral reactions, and mechanical sounds generate a soundscape experienced as sensory excess (see also: Trowell, 2017a; Trowell, 2018). While each ride has its own microcosmic soundscape, the fair is distinguished by its ability to overlap these in a singular site; a cacophony that is not just heard, but rather felt and experienced (Trowell, 2018). Thus, the fair has its own aural architecture in which sounds and space merge to create atmosphere; what Blesser and Salter (2007: 2) denote as: the 'composite of numerous surfaces, objects and geometries of a given environment'. The creation of these material spaces manifest sound in this combination of synthetic, mechanic and vocal noise; specifically, bodily interaction with physical material shapes sounds and voices by combining these sounds synthetically. Crang and Thrift (2000: 3) proclaim that 'spaces are not pre-configured vessels for activity but must be seen as processes, and in process space and time is combined in becoming'; in the fairground space, sound interacts with space and material to provide an acoustic context – a narrative of place. Consequently, the fairground sound 'shapes and creates space through both its acoustic properties and cultural' (Wood, *et.al*, 2007: 873) groundings.

As Matless (2005: 747) suggests, 'sonic geographical understanding alerts us to the contested values, the precarious balances . . . which make up place'. Sonic geographies of travelling fairs are shaped by the ways individuals collectively encounter these spaces, relying on both the memories created by experience, and their affectual responses (Anderson, 2009). Individual experiences shape the way these feelings manifest, and thus, how fairs are perceived. As Nancy (2007: 17) suggests:

‘the sonorous place – and taking place – as sonority, is not a place where the subject comes to make himself heard ... on the contrary, it is a place that becomes a subject insofar as sound resounds there’.

Turning back towards the travelling fairground, the reciprocity between sound and voice, both human and non-human, generates the creation of the fair atmosphere; without these sounds and voices, there would be no fairground space.

A central element of the fair’s soundscape is the relationship between people, music, and sound, wherein sound can trigger memories of past events: ‘When I was a bairn, she used to take me to the fair, and we’d go on the Merry-go-Round ... the music reminds me of her’ (Interview excerpt. Sam. 14 April 2017). For Sam, the jovial Polka brings back memories of a lost loved one, and a yearning for those same experiences; a restorative nostalgia of sorts, rooted in sound – a response that lets us surmise that sounds can trigger emotions and help ground a sense of self in place. Boyd and Duffy (2012) propose that listening embodies cultural memories in place; at the fair sound has the potential to produce spaces of nostalgia. These permit fairgoers, Showpeople, and enthusiasts alike to recall and reflect on memories intrinsically entwined with particular songs, voices, or noises. The fairground atmosphere melds technology and voice to generate a hybrid soundscape; therein, experience becomes a mystical quality wherein sound is encountered by human [and nonhuman] bodies in sensory ways. It is a lo-fi soundscape existing as one overarching electrically amplified sound.

However, the fairground sound is only effective through the practice of listening, and for the purposes of this chapter, listening is a vital element (Wood, *et.al*, 2007; Rodaway, 1994). In the fairground space, listening permits the fairgoer to viscerally experience place, and sound to trigger recollections, some nostalgic in sentiment. This reaction plays a fundamental part in enabling fairgoers to engage with, recall, and create memories. The human body becomes central to capturing, understanding and interpreting the many fairground sounds into perceivable noises, centred on our existing memories and experiences (Rodaway, 1994). It is this response that allows the fairground landscape to be encountered, engaged with, and dissected affectively.

The landscape of the fairground is one dominated by sound taking over space; this sound produces a cacophony or a harmony that rests on the combination of voice, music, and mechanical noise. These sounds result in temporarily suspended everyday places; thus, sound becomes more than a sensation, rather it becomes a form of communication (Rodaway, 1994). The challenge of the fairgoer then becomes to make sense of sound by engaging corporeally

with the fairground space.

7.2. Voice: memories and embodied nostalgia of the fairground space

The voice is a complex phenomenon used to communicate a vast array of commands, emotions, and understandings. Böhme (2017) constructs the voice as a symbol of bodily affect, saturating surrounding space by its very design. It is the most direct means of expression: ‘affective... forces are firstly expressed by the voice’ (Lazzarato, 2009: 1). Voice has the capacity to create worlds, situate place in space, and embody visceral responses; Bakhtin (1968) proposes that voices ‘open up spaces for different ways of being, through dialogue’ (Kanngieser, 2012: 337), response and interpretation. In the fairground space, human and non-human voices are constantly conversing actively, passively, and in place. Voices are shaped and influenced by geographies of atmosphere. Focusing on early-twentieth century oral histories of Showpeople, fairgoers, and enthusiasts, this section draws on nostalgia to argue that the fair’s history is represented and celebrated through the use of the voice. I argue that in the fairground context, nostalgia is an important narrative. Accordingly, this chapter considers that different voices act to preserve heritage and shape space, through nostalgia. Specifically, these differing voices establish the fair as a notable soundscape of memory and affect. Over time, these voices and memories have changed to reflect popular culture, heritage, and memories of Showpeople, fairgoers and enthusiasts. Finally, the role of the voice is dissected, arguing that the voice itself is a major aspect of the fairground’s success as it generates a soundscape that combines material with memory, nostalgia, and heritage. These voices represent the complex social geographies of the fair, and its capacity to shape different spaces for diverse fair-going audiences.

7.2.1. Showpeople: voices of the past, present, and future

The travelling fairground environment is dependent on the artistry and craft of Showpeople, who are a pivotal presence in the world of amusement. Their history and cultural heritage have moulded a creative art form, one shaping the way fairgoers experience and encounter all aspects of the fairground as an atmospheric event. Performances are created through acts of invention by Showpeople through materials and memories, some depending on communication by voice, such as blagging (as discussed in ‘7.1.3.1. *Blagging*’). As representations of memory, heritage, and tradition, Showpeople’s voices enable them to bring traditions from the past into the present,

in the familial sharing of trade-secrets. Fifth-generation Showman Albert, continues to be influenced by his ancestors' early-twentieth century innovations:

'I remember my grandfather telling me the importance of including your audience. Even then [in 1917] he made sure to ... include locals in his films. You know, in the feature; that way, they would come to the show ... And he said, always treat them well ... say hello, smile ... include them in the act. The more attention they get, the better you're going to do. So that's what I've done.

(Interview excerpt. Albert. 12 November 2017)

The experiences and innovations of Albert's ancestors continue to influence his creation of contemporary fairground spaces. The voice of his grandfather influences his use of voice to forge connections between the modern fairground and the history on which it is dependent. It is this voice of the past which has shaped his future – a critical nostalgia; a fond contemplation of the past figured as a reshaped present.

Showpeople, in general, have preserved stories and significant moments from the past through oral history and storytelling. These voices reflect success, significance, and sentimentality:

'My family had the first chair-o-planes on the [scene]. That's what they were known for. Everyone would talk about these chair-o-planes ... and then we had the biggest set. Oh, and people loved them.'

(Interview excerpt. Ginger. 15 March 2017)

Personal memory preserved by telling and re-telling anyone ready to listen. To this end, the Showman's voice shapes, creates, and recreates atmosphere in and out of the fairground space, precisely because it is moulded by heritage and history.

Historically, and with change over time, fairgrounds have been the venue for an array of voices that represent memory, development and innovation. Changing themes have generated unique experiences and associated memories; influenced by their ancestral working heritage. Memories of the past are kept alive through a tradition of living culture: tales and storytelling about fairs, common sense, life, and experience, amongst other things, are passed down between generations to keep their trade alive.

7.2.2. Fair-going publics: voices of memory, nostalgia, and emotion

Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) propose that place-related nostalgia generates an emotional response forming personal connections and identities. The atmosphere of the fair space re-connects past and present in its very existence for fairgoers; their voices helping to preserve and re-create a time past. In 1943 fairgoer Jonathan was only nine; growing up in the shadow of World War II, for him the travelling fairground brings back fleeting moments of pleasure during an otherwise troubling time:

‘I never felt so scared as I did during the war. But you know, the fair still ran. Everything was dark, and no music, but the rides and games – they were still going ... It was its own world away from everything ... That’s why I still come ... because it made me feel like I was alright.

(Interview excerpt. Jonathan. 20 May 2017)

In this sense, the travelling fairground provided elements of freedom, pleasure, and escape in an otherwise difficult time, thus momentarily alleviating personal pain, tension and fear. His response highlights the fairs’ capacity to become a site within which nostalgia alters memory; sight, sound, smell, taste, and emotion become tied to experience, and generate feelings of nostalgia (Wylie, 2007). Thus, repeat fairgoers that step into the bustling fairground landscape, feel removed from aspects of daily life, and experience deeply embodied connections between site and memory.²⁵

A connection between voice and memory *in-situ* permits a recreation of space that generates nostalgia; the vocalisation of these experiences creates a sensory narrative of place. Chloe, an annual fair visitor, recalls the Dumfries Rood Fair of 1964:

‘I met my husband – we went on our first date and rode the merry-go-round. The lights, the music, everything glowed. The horses, so beautiful – it’s my history. [My husband’s] passed now [pause] but I still go every year. It was our tradition... it connects us – he’s there with me.’

(Interview excerpt. Chloe. 30 September 2017)

Chloe’s memories are intrinsically dependent upon her experiences of site-related voices; these projected memories weave together site, memory and sound to generate a unique personal connection in place. Fairgoers voices reflect the personal and cultural memories through which they are experienced and lived; transmitted through sensory engagement and experience, these

²⁵ I should point out that although this reads as a sweeping statement, I am only arguing this in relation to the interviewed participants.

voices embody both shared and individual memory (Kwint, *et.al*, 1999). Jimmy's reflections on a particularly memorable Waltzer ride in 1961, further highlights the connection between rides and atmosphere:

'It was spinning faster and faster – everything around me blurring. It was amazing, the music, the lights, the colours all just one big haze. I clung onto the seat for dear life, the longer it went around, the more I felt sick ... but more than that I felt like it wasn't the same place ... I was shook ... to my core'

(Interview excerpt. Jimmy. 29 April 2017)

Jimmy's reflections emphasise the importance of corporeal experience. At the fair, memories find their voice through engagement with place; thus, what makes these spaces notable is their capacity to fashion transporting atmospheres and experiences, that can be recognised in a geographical language as 'more-than-representational' in their sensory appeal. Their abilities to transform and enchant fairgoers generate atmospheres removed from everyday reality. Fairgoers vocalisations of these experiences in and out of place, serve to reshape the fairground space. Visits to the fair have historically brought social change that has temporarily transformed ordinary experience and will continue to transform for generations present and future.

7.2.3. Enthusiasts: voices of knowledge, enthusiasm, and conservation

Enthusiasts represent an amalgam of fair-goers and Showpeople, and thus, make their own contributions to the soundscape of the fair. Specifically, enthusiasts bring with them a voice of knowledge, memory, and nostalgia, as well as one of emotion, affect, and conservation. Their specialist knowledge generated by years of research and immersion in fair culture has provided them with a voice of authority. Some might be judged to have a deeper knowledge of the history and establishment of the trade than Showpeople themselves. Othello has been a fair enthusiast since early childhood: 'I just remember the fair there one minute, and the next it was gone ... It was like a spark, something just clicked, and then I was hooked' (Interview excerpt. Othello. 29 April 2017). Reflecting on the transitory nature of the fair, Romeo, an avid fairgoer and keen fair-history enthusiast recalls a similar experience of awe and wonder: 'Such a fleeting phenomenon ... you never knew it was going to disappear, and eventually all that was left: nothing ... like you imagined it ... a vision' (Interview excerpt. Romeo. 17 September 2017). This fleetingness and immateriality resonate as restorative nostalgia; a yearning for a time when the fair represented a mysterious form of modernity, a momentary pleasure in childhood. For

enthusiasts, indulgence [in their topic of choice] generates a site within which enchantment, and nostalgia are central (see also: Gregory and Witcomb, 2007, in Knell, *et.al*, 2007). For Romeo, the fair has always been a place of mystery; these visceral experiences formed lasting impressions that today, provide powerful glimpses into the past atmosphere and excitement of the fairground.

Antonio, an active restorer of vintage and modern fairground items has collated a wealth of information about historical and material aspects of the fair:

‘That’s what it’s all about ... you have to understand [history] in order to know how to put things together. You can’t just expect to assemble the materials without really knowing where they came from and how they were used.’

(Interview excerpt. Antonio. 30 November 2017)

To Antonio, enthusiasm is about thinking through the past, reflecting on its modern impacts. In this sense, enthusiast culture represents a collective voice of preservation across the fairground landscape. Engagement with fair history, restoration of vintage objects, and general interests in pleasures derived from the fair, actively preserve aspects of the fairground being threatened by modernisation and changing cultural trends; an element discussed in further detail in ‘8.2. *Current climate and future projections*’.

Across the fair landscape, enthusiast voices remain exactly that: reflections of enthusiasts. Consequently, this is made clear in the role and voice of the people. Oberon, a long-time enthusiast, and recent Showperson reflects: ‘It’s a kind of hierarchy, but they don’t mean it nastily ... it’s just a difference in knowledge I suppose. Enthusiasts are enthusiasts and will never truly be Showpeople. I’m no anomaly’ (Interview excerpt. Oberon. 03 March 2017). This variance in classification, and status, places enthusiast voices in an unfamiliar space; although their knowledge is of value, enthusiast voices remain at the periphery of the fairground space, much like the fair itself.

Yet, I argue that enthusiast voices bridge the gap between Showperson and fairgoer, acting as conduit of information and knowledge. In travelling between the role of the fair-goer and the role of the enthusiast, their specialist knowledges often seep into their experiences, thus changing the way they encounter space: ‘Since I’ve been interested [in the fair] I can’t go to one without bringing all my learned knowledge with me ... I can’t separate what I know from my experience’ (Interview excerpt. Viola. 17 December 2017). Consequently, their voices represent a blending of worlds, of fairgoer and Showperson, melding through individual experience.

In the context of the fairground, Showpeople, fairgoers, and enthusiasts alike are constantly creating and responding to each other and the space that surrounds them. It is a performative space, where voice is integral to its atmosphere and affective qualities. Though their voices are determined as different, they all contribute to a shared soundscape; today's Showpeople use voice to create remarkable atmospheres and experiences rooted in visceral affect. Showmen, in particular, have learned to utilise not only their own, but also fairgoers and enthusiasts voices, to generate an arresting soundscape. Enthusiasts and fairgoers, meanwhile, contribute to the soundscape, through a range of memories. These varied voices are capable of enthralling audiences, but also of preserving the past; thus, the fair has historically been, and continues to be, a space in which all types of voice are representative of lived experience. In the fairground context, the voice is an important narrative that allows Showpeople, enthusiasts, and fairgoers to reflect on embodied historical accounts of material and memory. Specifically, they permit the re-creation of lived experiences, thus shaping voice and sound as important tools for preserving not only the travelling fairgrounds past, but also for ensuring its continued survival.

7.3. Geographies of sound and voice

Ontologically and empirically, the soundscape of the fairground is one dominated by sound and voice; geographically taking over space, these elements create a new landscape, one embedded in both listening and reacting. A cacophony or a harmony that rests on the combination of voice and sound. These noises and vocalisations temporarily suspend everyday place; with sound and voice becoming ways to communicate and transform place (Rodaway, 1994). The relationship between these two phenomena allow us to geographically engage with the travelling fair as spaces of historic and modern sound and voice.

The ingredients of sound, voice, and experience are part of a great tober, a melting pot of sensory excess. Fairs represent a pleasure that is reliant on sound and voice; one that advocates for an understating that experience is bound to site, and thus, to voice and sound. Over time, the fair has reflected different sounds and voices, bringing with it a range of audiences. Today, sound and voice are used to distinguish these spaces from practices and routines of everyday life, created by experience in place, and in this particular circumstance, by and at the fair. I argue that sound and voice merge to create a new type of fairground, one reliant on sensory manufacture to generate atmosphere and nostalgia. Changing voices represent memories and corporeal relationships fashioned at the fair. These experiences with sound are

inherently dependent upon sensory feelings, as well as the establishment of voice in place. In a fairground context sound and voice intertwine to create an atmospheric and nostalgic site of memory; a site of embodied atmosphere. Sound and voice play a vital role in creating memories and vernacular experiences. Synthetic, natural, innate, and visceral sounds come into being in this landscape, both projected and naturally emergent. A sensory overload is generated through the combination of sound and voice to evoke a sense of nostalgia at the fair; in turn, this nostalgia creates a corporeal relationship to memory that changes the way fair is approached. This nostalgia is later expressed through the vocal sharing of memories, passed between generations of Showpeople, shared across enthusiast spaces, or communicated between fairgoers when recounting their actions.

Chapter 8. The end of the show

‘The fairground disorients in an excess of sounds, smells, tastes, lights, visuals, rootedness, social conventions and performativity’ (Trowell, 2017b: 212). It is a space like no other designed to enchant, enthrall and amuse; a ‘mysterious, dangerous ... venue in which emotions are unguarded, experiences intense, and a break from routine of everyday’ (Toulmin, 2003: 61). Throughout this fieldwork I have learned success of the fair entails, forethought, deep-rooted interest and detailed planning. Only people invested in their craft survive in the ‘pleasure-land’ landscape. But beyond this, it also involves a wealth of geographies working both consciously and unconsciously together to create this experience. Materialities, mobilities, affects, and atmospheres finding root in the artistry, performances, movements, and traditions of the fair. It is a phenomenon like no other. It combines an important cultural heritage, of both Showpeople and Scotland, with memory, while also speaking to the many forms of nostalgia that have been shaped throughout its existence. At the same time, it showcases a business deeply reliant on the interpretations of society to encounter and fashion it as a site of transgression. Underlying this are established preconceptions and misjudgements about the community of people who work so hard to create this ‘all the fun of the fair’ atmosphere.

In this multifaceted exploration of the geographies of travelling fairgrounds in Scotland, my research has engaged with the material and cultural production of the funfair experience. Through description and analysis I have sought to present the fairground as an enigmatic spectacle with its own inimitable atmosphere, and a space of social transgression where materials and histories combine to create a mechanised ‘tober’; Braithwaite’s (1968: 21) specialist term for – ‘a site of joy and excitement, or insatiable curiosity ... commonly referred to as a fairground miracle’. Moreover, I have figured the fair as a forebear presaging the contemporary ‘pop-up’ site designed to creatively transform otherwise unassuming locale, creating temporary spaces of carnival. Deploying Bakhtin’s (1968) seminal conceptualisation of the carnivalesque as a dichotomous social and cultural phenomenon, I have constructed the fairground as a site of sensory misalliance, where visions of modernity, tradition, and ‘otherness’ are designed to captivate and transform audiences.

By asking questions around design, mobility, materiality, affect, atmosphere, and the role of the body in understanding place, I have set out to provide original, geographically focused, answers to the following research aims, conclusively outlined below:

1. I have observed the material and cultural production of fairgrounds in Scotland as atmospheric, by addressing questions of design, mobility, decoration, and

representation. Drawing on empirical evidence and first-hand ethnographic encounters with fairground material and culture, I explored how elements of cultural taste, sight, sound, and voice come together within the fairground space, shaping them to be essential elements in understanding the mechanical and sensory sites of wonder, amusement, and frivolity that take shape as in these sensory landscapes. In the context of the travelling fair, space produces new modes of social interaction that changes the way they are encountered, approached, and engaged with. It is a phenomenon characterised by its carnivalistic ambiance and constant placement on the margin. Expressed through cultural geographies of taste, sight, sound, and mobility, this space is designed to be transgressed. A kind of ‘bad-land’; not in literal terms, but rather as a space created by its constant development and demonstrations of modernity. A marvel that has influenced and moulded Scotland’s entertainment since the early 1300s. It is, for all accounts and purposes, paradoxical; calling into being uninhibited interaction. Its transitory nature elicits eccentric behaviour and unites carnivalistic disparity with realities of everyday space; inspiring dichotomous worlds to arise in the same atmospheric world. A space of contrast *by design*. It is important to understand that Showpeople want to incite and invite transgression, as this is what has historically made the fair such a successful form of entertainment; exemplified through freak shows, cabinets of curiosity, and film, as well as creations of uncanny and gothic ghost trains, and indulgences in vernacular and popular artforms. I have constructed the fairground as a space of creative misalliance, where modernity and ‘otherness’ are combined by design, to enthrall, thrill, and enchant its audiences. As a site of technological, social, and cultural modernity, as well as innovation and change, I have argued that travelling fairgrounds should be understood as sites in which modernities are expressed in contrast to realities of the site. As spaces of modernity, the fairground in its very essence invites transgression and excitement. As such, fairgoers, Showpeople, and enthusiasts are connected in place through shared atmosphere, experience, and sensuous or sensory enchantment, variously across Scotland.

2. In an effort to engage with the production of fairs as atmospheres of affect, and nostalgia, I examined how the travelling fairground constructs atmosphere, and in turn creates affect and nostalgia. Benjamin (2006: 28) argues that ‘atmosphere, the realm of affect, is not given by an enclosed space, but one created by the operation of a surface’; at the fair, atmosphere is produced by a merging of affect, sense, and body, taking shape in

space. Enthusiasm and enchantment, in particular, shaping the production of these affective forces. Merleau-Ponty (2014: 84) writes: 'I am conscious of my body through the world ... on the other hand I am conscious of the world by means of my body'. In the fairground space, the body is constructed as a medium through which experiences are perceived and consequently, in which emotional and affective memories are forged. Sensory engagement shapes the body as a site of knowledge, wherein emotions are expressed and affects defined. Thereby, the body challenges experiences of site, changing to reflect experienced affects generated through sight, taste, sound, and touch. Here, Rodaway's (1994) sensory geographies, relating to visual, auditory, olfactory, and haptic geographies shape the body as a conduit through which to immerse oneself in the fairground space. Engaging with all elements of the fair, permits the fairgoers, enthusiasts, and to some extent the Showpeople to experience a transformation of sorts; one encouraged by the transgressionary nature of the fair, where space, nostalgia, affect, and emotion are configurations of lived relationships, identified through people's attachments to the fair space and expressed via a corporeal relationship to memory.

3. Throughout, I have pre-theorised contemporary popular culture through the conception of travelling fairgrounds, rooting my work in the senses so as to demonstrate the role popular cultural conventions have played, and continue to play, in shaping the fairground landscape. Here, clear overlaps can be seen between my own findings and Edensor, *et.al* (2009), who argue that creativity is forged at the grassroots level; the travelling fair has long been a 'pop-up' space of creativity, showcasing new emergent trends, fashions, and designs. As pioneers of the entertainment industry in Scotland, and as 'taste-makers', I argue that Showpeople embody creativity formed at the grassroots-level and from the ground up. A vernacular creativity located in everyday culture, expressed in spaces of atmosphere, enchantment, and enthusiasm. Here, I further look to Barbara Jones (2013) seminal work on the travelling fairground as 'dismountable Baroque', which has served as inspiration for my theorisation of Scotland's fairs as spaces of 'pop-up' and take-down ingenuity. Creating art 'in place', I figure the travelling fair as a movable and transformable piece of performance art, combining technology, Showmanship, and creativity. A 'pop-up' theatre and space of routine designed to transform atmosphere and invite transgression.
4. Finally, I have critically considered the social constraints placed on travellers in contemporary Scotland. By working with Showpeople, enthusiasts, and fairgoers, I

sought to challenge misconceptions about the community of Showpeople who underpin and create these travelling fairs, in an effort to build a more progressive account of this culture and its contemporary geographies. Social developments through time have impacted its political, social, and cultural standing, locating it [and as a consequence Showpeople] on the margin; placed on the literal and figurative borders of society due to this very ability. As a consequence, Showpeople have been portrayed in a negative fashion, in part also due to their association with mobility. However, it is important to recognise that Showpeople are an important part of Scotland's entertainment industry, both past and present, and hopefully in its future. Here then, and throughout my thesis, I call for a re-engagement with this space not as a site of 'otherness', but as one of cultural significance. In using the voices of my participants to reflect their positions and understandings as a way to communicate their value and importance in the social and cultural history of Scotland's landscapes, I hope to have demonstrated that this conversation needs to be further extended. But more importantly, it needs to take place with and through the people that these judgements affect. As such, I look to other academics do the same.

More generally, and across all aims, it can be suggested that materials are an important element of the fair. A way for people to engage in space, while also representing a cultural heritage and history of invention and creativity. The objects through which everyday spaces are transformed for given periods of times, from spaces of routinised convention into sites of uninhibited expression. Across the fair these material forms engender visual, olfactory, haptic, aural, and oral experiences, remembered and re-told by its audiences long after the fair has left. To the same effect, these materials (and their tober) have engendered an entire sub-culture of their own, performed and practiced through efforts of enthusiasm. They have inspired sustained interest enacted both within and outwith the fair space, thereby [conceivably] ensuring their continued survival. Finally, these materials offer Showpeople means of creating these tobers *and* solidities through which to reflect on their pasts. In this vein, it is important to recognise that beyond creating the fair, Showpeople also have a tangible material heritage, historically and culturally significant in shaping the Scottish entertainment landscape.

Overall, this thesis has demonstrated that elements of 'popular' cultural taste are constituted by, and reflected in, the fairground scene. Paradoxically, the role of 'taste-maker' or 'taste-shaper' continues to position the travelling fair as a site of transgression and place Showpeople on the periphery of social convention. Additionally, I have engaged with the

production of affective atmospheres and nostalgic feeling in the fairground, drawing on theories of enthusiasm and enchantment to outline the generation of these forces. Throughout the entire exercise I have critically considered the social constraints places on travellers in contemporary Scottish society.

'Chapter 1. Our true intent is all for your delight' provided an introduction and historical overview of the emergence and development of travelling fairs, while also outlining the current status afforded to the fair in Scottish society, as well as explaining my own positionality in the research project. *'Chapter 2. Theoretical foundations: geographies of the fair'* reviewed relevant fields of literature, and outlined gaps in scholarship to date, including geographers' lack of attention afforded to and engagement with Showpeople, as well as the fairground as site of sensory and material geographies. *'Chapter 3. Non-representational fairground fieldwork: sources, sites, and methods at the fair'* provided an in-depth explanation of my methodological design and the theoretical reasoning that underpins it. *'Chapter 4. Site and Sight: spaces and illusions of the fair'* combined discussions of sight and visual experience at the fair, focusing on the politics, technicalities, and rules of site arrangement. Here, I introduced site as a manifestation of Showpeople's artistic vision, and a feature integral to the success and popularity of the fair. Additionally, I argued that light generates atmospheres capable of inducing emotional responses, themselves significant in producing affective experience. In *'Chapter 5. Taste and Taste: Cultures and flavours of the fair'* I considered how class-based identities come to be constituted by, and reflected in, the materiality and expression of popular taste at the fair. Drawing on theories of popular culture and enthusiasm, I further constructed the fair as a precursor to the modern 'pop-up' space. I offered a haptic narrative for the kinds of signature tastes encountered at the fair, indulging in the guilty pleasures of the toffee apple, popcorn, and candy floss as the basis for commentary on food geographies, and an argument that gustatory taste and flavour manifest representations of 'popular culture'. *'Chapter 6. Mobilities of and in the fairground space'* examined differing mobilities of fairground space, recounting the mobile history of travelling fairs to argue that fairgrounds meld together complex mobilities. Terranova-Webb's (2010) concept of 'static mobility' was invoked to assert that although mobile, repeated patterns of movement shape this landscape as one of static and stable mobility. In support, I suggested that the travelling fairground is a 'pop-up' space, where forms of *ad-hocism* surface, temporarily transforming its venue through mechanical and practiced mobilities, reflecting on its affective capacities to generate feelings of temporality. In *'Chapter 7. Sound and Voice'* I argued that the fairground has its own sonic architecture that formulates

affect, while voice is a means to share and represent nostalgia and memory. Conclusively, I positioned sound and voice as co-constitutive and entwined in the fairground landscape.

Travelling fairs are a spectacle; enigmatic, and to some degree undefinable. Therefore, we must recognise that they are geographic sites of memory; becoming affectual and memorial landscapes through corporeal engagement. In this vein, we can understand these spaces as affectual, sites allowing people to transform identities and shed inhibitions, where memories are made in intensities of sight, taste, touch, and sound. Spaces that enable actions of enthusiasm, fair-going, and transformation in their materiality. They are mysterious and sensory, with their own inimitable atmosphere; spaces perpetually in motion and transition. An entertainment phenomenon that has existed in multiple guises across time. It is a culture developed by celebrating its past, living its present, and always thinking of its future: a phenomenon that lives. As such, it is important to encounter and understand these spaces with an open mind, removed from the preconceptions, and prejudices, that typically befall this trade. In an attempt to mitigate some of these social prejudgements, my project has engaged in processes of outreach, further outlined below.

8.1. Current climate and future projections

The spaces of the travelling fairground are undergoing change. This is an undeniable fact, born of observations made during the life-course of this study. Although the fair's arrival is still a notable calendar event and source of pleasure across many Scottish towns and cities, the scene and circuit are also experiencing declines in footfall and financial struggles: 'we just don't see as many ... the larger fairs, they still draw the crowds. But sometimes you've got maybe ten or twenty [people] and that's it ... you don't do it for the money anymore' (Interview excerpt. Benjamin. 31 October 2017). Modern forms of entertainment (*Netflix, PlayStation, Xbox*, social media) have shifted the way younger generations perform sociality, find entertainment, and seek thrills. As such, travelling fairs are no longer sought out as spaces of innovation, modernity, and future promise. Thus, the fair is a cultural phenomenon endangered by 'popular' trends and new forms of leisure. This noted, intergenerational celebrations of nostalgia, performed by fair-going groups, promise a reconfiguration of what is found appealing at the fair. Memories forged in shared experience are of a piece with the fair's material manifestation. The merry-go-round in particular, is powerfully constructed as a site of remembrance and reflective nostalgia. For many, these familiarities and recollections, are only experienced while at the fair, and so offer potentials for its culture to persevere.

Beyond the site of the fair itself, recent efforts by Showpeople directed at recognising the significance of their own cultural tradition can be framed by MacDonald's (2011) consideration of modernity as a tool for conservation. Mitch Miller's BBC documentary *'Showland: Behind the Scenes at The Fair'* (2014) catalysed concerted campaigning for cultural heritage initiatives amongst Scottish Showpeople and inspired different means of opening up Scotland's fairs to more diverse publics. Originating in 2010 out of a collaboration between Showpeople and Glasgow Life, which culminated in annual displays of traditional fairground stalls at the Riverside Museums 'Christmas Fair', today, the 'Fair Glasgow' group boasts a larger profile combining Showpeople, Glasgow Life/ Glasgow Museums staff, and members of the enthusiast community, including myself. Recently, the 'Fair Glasgow' group launched the *'A Fair Life'* exhibit at the city's new Riverside Museum in 2019. This exhibition marked the group's first tangible outreach achievement, displaying hidden histories of Scottish fairground life to members of the public. Since then, there have also been efforts to amend government policy, as well as outreach through education. A collaboration between 'Fair Glasgow', the Scottish Showmen's Guild, and the Scottish government has resulted in significant changes to Glasgow's housing strategies for 2017-2022. Concerted efforts to acknowledge Showpeople's difficulties in acquiring yard sites and negotiating planning permission because of misrepresentation and social discrimination has resulted in the official acknowledgement of Showpeople's requirements in the 'Housing Needs and Demand Study' (HNDA). Beyond this change, the same committees are currently devising model site plans and policy changes for government as guidance for yards and fairgrounds.

At the start of 2020, the 'Fair Glasgow' group submitted a Heritage Lottery Fund project, entitled *'Telling the Tale: Mapping intangible heritage of Glasgow's Showpeople'*, with the aim of mapping Scottish Showpeople's heritage. This project has been proposed in conjunction with Scottish Oral History and the Scottish Showmen's Guild. A central feature of the project includes amassing a mobile archive and 'pop-up' museum of sorts to be showcased across Scotland, supported by further educational tools and resources to educate members of the public about the legacy of Showpeople in Scotland's social and cultural history.

These cumulative efforts to preserve, protect and promote material and oral cultures is a means to secure a lasting and living cultural legacy. Having recently launched its own Facebook and Twitter profiles, the 'Fair Glasgow' group is attempting to re-launch the popularity of the fair whilst providing a more representative overview of their history and culture. It is an aim I share and feel invested in, firmly believing that efforts to engage with Scotland's publics can

help to re-animate fairground space as they are sites of immense cultural value and so worthy of proper widespread support.

8.2. Impact and knowledge-making

Within society, and to an extent even within academic literature, the term ‘travellers’ is predominantly used to classify migratory groups whose lifestyles differ from ‘social norms’ of mainstream society. In Scotland, travellers are exceptionally diverse in their values and cultures. While cultural diversity and discrimination have been afforded much academic and literary attention within geography (see: Halfacree, 1996; MacLaughlin, 1998, 1999; Sibley, 1995; Shubin, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2012; Bondi, *et.al*, 2016; and, Townsend, *et.al*, 2018), principally, Showpeople have been left out of this discussion (with the exception of Toulmin (2001; 2003; 2009) and Trowell, (2017a; 2017b) most notably). As a result, throughout my research project I have felt a growing level of responsibility to contribute to the community and culture that is the subject of my studies, not only to efforts aimed at preserving a valued cultural heritage of the travelling fair, but also directed at pressing a public case for show-culture. However, my intentions have been driven with the knowledge that I cannot work for or on behalf of the community, rather with them; hence, I have actively engaged with the ‘Fair Glasgow’ group, working to change policy and legislation across Scotland, while also reaching out to members of the public through education.

From an academic perspective, I argue that, as a cultural landscape, the travelling fairground is virtually absent from geographical writing, with the exception of perhaps Walker (2018) or Toulmin (2001, 2003). Thus, my work not only constructs the travelling fairground as a site of empirical data collection, and of cultural analysis through which I consider interconnected geographies of mobility, memory, and nostalgia, but also seeks to distinguish this space *and* Showpeople as an important nomadic community who create significant materialities of their own. Within academic research then, I hope that this thesis serves as a starting point for further engagement by the interdisciplinary research community addressing questions about the cultural geographies of Scotland’s travelling fairgrounds, as well as Scotland’s Showpeople. By extension, this research contributes to the growing field of cultural geography and its interests in shaping materiality as the ‘the expression and negotiation of culture, political and economic relationships via the material world of objects’ (Gregory, *et.al*, 2009: 448). This revitalised understanding of materiality particularly emphasises the need for

an approach embedded in thinking through material, similarly, expressed most notably by Edensor (2011; 2012) and DeSilvey (2006; 2007;2010).

For mobility geographies, I position the travelling fair to be understood as both ‘stable’ [or static] and mobile [or fluid]. Building on Terranova-Webb’s (2010) geographies of stable mobility, this thesis challenges geographers to think differently about ‘stable’ routine; arguing, that repeated motions and movements serve to make spaces mobile. The very routine of Showpeople ensures the fairs continued survival and regulates movements from static to *ad-hoc* and back again. In this vein ‘stable’ mobility is positioned as fluid mobility enacted through repeated practice. Further to this, I have repositioned traveller mobility in a different light; more specifically, I have argued that it challenges understandings of mobility only as physical movement, towards an exploration of how nomadism is socially, and politically constructed. Showpeople’s mobility is shaped by their working culture, and so it is important to understand that their movements have political, cultural, and social meaning. Although this has been a central element of recent changes in mobility study (see; Cresswell (1999; 2002a; 2010) and Shubin (2011a; 2012; 2015) among others), this thesis has applied and argued for the recognition of similar understandings at the travelling fair. By reconfiguring Showpeople’s mobility in this light, I hope this thesis can form the basis for additional and further understandings of traveller mobility.

Throughout my PhD I have engaged in my own efforts to generate impact and public outreach, as well as presenting at international research conferences. Within geography, these have extended to the RGS-IBG annual conference and the AAG annual meeting, taking part in both historical geography and material geography sessions. Beyond geography, I have also presented at critical heritage conferences, discussing Showpeople’s trade as heritage. I also have a forthcoming chapter in a research monograph published by the Historical Geography Research Group of the RGS-IBG as a way to connect with the wider academic community. I hope the research underpinning this thesis will form the basis for further future publications.

Across Scotland, 4000 Showpeople continue to pursue the trade in travelling entertainment. Not only is it a primary source of income for many, being a part of the fairground scene provides the backdrop for everyday activities and social interactions. In my capacity as a cultural activist, I have chaired a conference session for the annual Museums Conference, and taken part in diverse projects involving collaborative activity directed at progressive policy change, museum-led events and exhibit programming, and social media profiling, as well as discussions about mitigating against social pressures created by urban redevelopment and

associated gentrification. While some of Scotland's Councils and Local Authorities are enforcing positive changes intended to ensure Showpeople have stronger legal rights, recent redevelopment schemes have resulted in the displacement of Showpeople. The current construction of 'Water Row' in Govan, Glasgow, has displaced a community of Showpeople that has been resident in the area since the early 1900s. Threats such as this to a way of life are indeed very real. Thus, it is my hope that this thesis and the information and observations generated throughout my research process can be used to lessen the impact and consequences of negative social change for Scotland's Showpeople.

Appendices

Appendix A – Fieldwork Sites: Fairgrounds

Fairs Attended

Name of Fair	Date of Origin (based on Showpeoples knowledge)	Run Dates	Location	Date and Time attended	Ethnographic Description *Number of fairgoers across all fieldwork days
High Blantyre Funfair	Exact date unknown – though is a site of traditional Glasgow-based travel routes, established ca. 1300	10/02/2017-19/02/2017 Duration: 10 days	Stonefield Road, Blantyre	10/02/2017 – 18:00-20:00 13/02/2017 – 13:00-17:00 18/02/2017 – 14:00-18:00; 19:00-22:00	Fieldwork Duration: 3 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Alan Newsome Ground surface: Grass Hoopla attractions: 14 Rides: 15 Food stalls: 1 Number of fairgoers: 150 Crowds gather at (time): 13:00 – young children and families 18:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Thunderdome' Waltzer (main ride) Dodgems (hoopla) Hook-A-Duck (supporting) Mini chairs (juvenile ride)
Kilmarnock Funfair	Exact date unknown	16/03/2017-26/03/2017 Duration: 11 days	Odeon Cinema Car park, Kilmarnock	16/03/2017 – 17:00-21:00 19/03/2017 – 12:30-16:00; 19:00-22:00 25/03/2017 – 13:30-17:00; 18:00-22:00	Fieldwork Duration: 3 days Type of Fair: Wristband Fair Lessee: Irvin Stringfellow Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 10 Rides: 4 Food stalls: 2 Number of fairgoers: 120 Crowds gather at (time): 14:00 – young children and families 17:00 – teenagers and young adults; young children and families

					Crowds gather at (place): 'Twister' (main ride) Dodgems (hoopla) Bungee trampolines (supporting) Mini chairs (juvenile ride)
Braehead Shopping Centre Fair	2009	30/03/2017-16/04/2017 Duration: 18 days	Intu Braehead Car park	30/03/2017 – 18:00-22:00 01/04/2017 – 13:00-15:00; 19:00-22:00 09/04/2017 – 14:00-18:00	Fieldwork Duration: 3 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Hiscoes Funfairs Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 4 Rides: 4 Food stalls: 0 Number of fairgoers: 290 Crowds gather at (time): 13:00 – young children and families 16:00 – teenagers and young adults 20:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Drop Zone' Tower (main ride) 'Twister' (main ride) Trampolines (supporting)
Glasgow Green Easter Carnival	Exact date unknown – though is a site of traditional Glasgow-based travel routes, established ca. 1300	31/03/2017-09/04/2017 Duration: 10 days	Glasgow Green	31/03/2017 – 18:00-21:00 04/04/2017 – 17:00-21:00 07/04/2017 – 19:00-22:00 08/04/2017 – 13:00-16:00; 18:00-22:00	Fieldwork Duration: 4 days Type of Fair: Wristband Fair Lessee: Irvin Stringfellow Ground surface: Grass Hoopla attractions: 12 Rides: 4 Food stalls: 2 Number of fairgoers: 1070 Crowds gather at (time): 13:00 – young children and families 15:30 – teenagers and young adults

					20:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Twister' (main ride) Dodgems (hoopla) Mini chairs (juvenile ride)
Clydebank Mega Value Carnival	Exact date unknown	01/04/2017-17/04/2017 Duration: 17 days	Clydebank Playdrome Car Park	05/04/2017 – 16:00-21:00 06/04/2017 – 19:00-22:00 11/04/2017 – 18:00-21:00	Fieldwork Duration: 3 days Type of Fair: Session fair Lessee: Taylor's of Edinburgh Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 6 Rides: 7 Food stalls: 2 Number of fairgoers: 100 Crowds gather at (time): 16:00 – young children and families 16:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Dragon Coaster' (juvenile ride) Teacups (juvenile ride)
East Kilbride Funfair	2010	01/04/2017-03/04/2017 Duration: 3 days	Morrison's Car Park, Greenhills Road	02/04/2017 – 12:30-15:00 03/04/2017 – 17:00-21:00	Fieldwork Duration: 2 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Allan Newsome Funfairs Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 9 Rides: 11 Food stalls: 4 Number of fairgoers: 290 Crowds gather at (time): 14:00 – young children and families 18:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): Waltzer (main ride) Teacups (juvenile ride)

					'Hook-a-duck' (hoopla) 'Gourmet Grill' (food)
Maryhill Funfair	Exact date unknown	06/04/2017-17/04/2017 Duration: 12 days	Kelvinside Playing Fields, Maryhill	14/04/2017 – 18:00-22:00	Fieldwork Duration: 1 day Type of fair: pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Smiths family funfairs Ground surface: clay Hoopla attractions: 15 Rides: 11 Food Stalls: 2 Number of fairgoers: 170 Crowds gather at (time): 18:00 – young children and families, though leave by 19:00 18:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Skydiver' (main ride) Children's Teacups (juvenile ride) Inflatable kicker (supporting) 'Gourmet Grill' (food)
Kirkcaldy Links Market	1304	19/04/2017-24/04/2017 Duration: 6 days	Kirkcaldy Esplanade – Sea-front promenade	19/04/2017 – 14:00-18:00 21/04/2017 – 17:00-22:00 22/04/2017 – 12:00-15:00	Fieldwork Duration: 3 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride street fair Lessee: Scottish Showman's Guild Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 83 Rides: 69 Food stalls: 53 Number of fairgoers: 210,000 Crowds gather at (time): 15:00 – young children, families, teenagers, young adults 19:00 – teenagers and young adults

					<p>Crowds gather at (place): 'Superspin' Experience (main ride) 'Wild Mouse' (main ride) Dodgems (hoopla) 'Hook-a-duck' (hoopla) Pick'n'mix stall (food) 'German Fayre' kiosk (food)</p>
Dingwall Funfair	Exact date unknown	20/04/2017-29/04/2017 Duration: 10 days	Ross County Football Club Car Park	20/04/2017 – 19:00-22:00 23/04/2017 – 13:00-15:00; 17:00-20:00 29/04/2017 – 14:00-17:00	<p>Fieldwork Duration: 2 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Herchers Funfairs Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 4 Rides: 6 Food stalls: 1 Number of fairgoers: 160 Crowds gather at (time): 13:00 – young children and families 20:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): Waltzer (main ride) 'Hook-a-duck' (hoopla) Darts (hoopla)</p>
Alloa Spring Family Fun Fair	1881	27/04/2017-07/05/2017 Duration: 11 days	West End Park, Alloa	27/04/2017 – 18:00-22:00 29/04/2017 – 13:00-16:00; 18:00-21:00 03/05/2017 – 19:00-22:00	<p>Fieldwork Duration: 3 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: John Evans Funfairs Ground surface: Grass Hoopla attractions: 27 Rides: 18 Food stalls: 2 Number of fairgoers: 1370 Crowds gather at (time): 15:00 – young children, families, teenagers, young adults</p>

					<p>20:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): Mini wheel (juvenile ride) Mini Jets (juvenile ride) Dodgems (hoopla) 'Crazy Circus' Funhouse (supporting) 'Star Grill' (food)</p>
Berwick Upon Tweed Funfair	Exact date unknown	30/04/2017-08/05/2017 Duration: 9 days	Comhill Road, Berwick Upon Tweed	04/05/2017 – 18:00-22:00 06/05/2017 – 19:00-21:00 07/05/2017 – 13:00-16:00; 18:00-21:00	<p>Fieldwork Duration: 2 days Type of Fair: Wristband fair Lessee: Thomsons Funfairs Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 12 Rides: 18 Food stalls: 4 Number of fairgoers: 700 Crowds gather at (time): 13:00 – young children and families. 18:00 – teenagers and young adults. Crowds gather at (place): 'Booster' (main ride) 'Super Spin' (main ride) Ring Toss (hoopla)</p>
Renfrew Funfair	Exact date unknown	05/05/2017-14/05/2017 Duration: 10 days	Inchinnan Road, Renfrew	05/05/2017 – 19:00-21:00 09/05/2017 – 20:00-22:00	<p>Fieldwork Duration: 2 days Type of Fair: Wristband fair Lessee: Thomsons Funfairs Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 12 Rides: 10 Food stalls: 2 Number of fairgoers: 320 Crowds gather at (time): 20:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place):</p>

					'Superman' (juvenile ride) Waltzer (main ride) 'Giant Boot' Funhouse (supporting)
Springburn Funfair	1390 – though not an annual event.	12/05/2017-14/05/2017 Duration: 3 days	Springburn Park	12/05/2017 – 18:00-21:00 14/05/2017 – 13:00-16:00; 18:00-21:00	Fieldwork Duration: 2 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Codonas Funfairs Ground surface: Grass Hoopla attractions: 7 Rides: 16 Food stalls: 2 Number of fairgoers: 250 Crowds gather at (time): 13:00 – young children and families 18:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Air Raid' (main ride) Waltzer (main ride) Trampolines (supporting) 'Football Shootout' (supporting) 'Star Grill' (food)

Elgin Funfair	Exact date unknown	17/05/2017-21/05/2017 Duration: 5 days	Lossie Green Car Park	17/05/2017 – 17:00-22:00	Fieldwork Duration: 1 day Type of Fair: Wristband fair or pay-as-you-go fair Lessee: Hercher's Family Funfairs Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 15 Rides: 11 Food stalls: 2 Number of fairgoers: 130 Crowds gather at (time): 17:00 – young children and families, though leave by 19:30 18:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): Waltzer (main ride) Trampolines (supporting) 'Star Grill' (food)
Cumbernauld Funfair	1983	18/05/2017-21/05/2017 Duration: 4 days	Shopping Centre, Cumbernauld	18/05/2017 – 18:00-21:30 21/05/2017 – 14:00-19:00	Fieldwork Duration: 2 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Codonas Funfairs Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 7 Rides: 16 Food stalls: 2 Number of fairgoers: 250 Crowds gather at (time): 13:00 – young children and families 18:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Rock Rage' Inversion (main ride) 'Starchaser' Waltzer (main ride) 'Soccerama' Inflatable Kicker (supporting)

Kilbirnie Funfair	Exact date unknown	19/05/2017-21/05/2017 Duration: 3 days	Tesco Carpark, Kilbirnie	19/05/2017 – 19:00-22:00 20/05/2017 – 14:00-17:00	Fieldwork Duration: 2 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Michael Stirling and Sons Funfairs Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 10 Rides: 9 Food stalls: 0 Number of fairgoers: 90 Crowds gather at (time): 16:30 – young children and families 20:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Road to Hell' Ghost Train (main ride) 'Frozen' Funhouse (supporting)
Edinburgh Meadows Funfair	Exact date unknown, though is part of the traditional Edinburgh travel route established ca. 1350	31/05/2017-04/06/2017 Duration: 5 days	Edinburgh Meadows	31/05/2017 – 19:00-22:00 02/06/2017 – 20:00-22:30	Fieldwork Duration: 2 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Taylors of Edinburgh Funfairs Ground surface: Grass Hoopla attractions: 17 Rides: 17 Food stalls: 4 Number of fairgoers: 390 Crowds gather at (time): 19:00 – young children and families, though leave by 20:30 20:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Mystery Hotel' Funhouse (supporting) 'Vertigo' Booster (main ride)

					'Air Raid' Extreme (main ride)
Bathgate Galadry Funfair	1890	01/06/2017-04/06/2017 Duration: 4 days	Bathgate Showground	01/06/2017 – 18:00-22:00 03/06/2017 – 19:00-22:00 04/06/2017: 13:00-16:00; 18:00-23:00	Fieldwork Duration: 3 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Horne's Pleasure Fairs Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 9 Rides: 30 Food stalls: 5 Number of fairgoers: 1000 Crowds gather at (time): 15:00 – young children and families 18:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): Waltzer (main ride) Children's Teacups (juvenile ride) Mini Jets (juvenile ride) 'Hook-a-duck' (hoopla)
Hawick Funfair	1910	01/06/2017-12/06/2017 Duration: 12 days	Victoria Road Carpark, Hawick	02/06/2017 – 19:00-22:00 06/06/2017 – 18:00-22:30 11/06/2017 – 12:30-16:00; 18:30-22:00	Fieldwork Duration: 2 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Scottish Showman's Guild Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 44 Rides: 15 Food stalls: 7 Number of fairgoers: 980 Crowds gather at (time): 13:00 – young children and families 18:30 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Limbo Dancer' Miami (main ride)

					'The Cage' Round Up (main ride) 'Crooked House' Fun House (supporting) 'Twice as Nice' Kiosk (food)
Lanark Funfair	Exact date unknown, though is part of the traditional Central Belt travel route established ca. 1550	07/06/2017-09/06/2017 Duration: 3 days	Leisure Centre Car Park	07/06/2017 – 18:00-21:00 09/06/2017 – 15:00-17:00; 19:00-22:00	Fieldwork Duration: 2 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Codona's Funfairs Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 11 Rides: 11 Food stalls: 1 Number of fairgoers: 240 Crowds gather at (time): 15:00 – young children and families 18:30 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Twister' Twist (main ride) 'Starchaser' Waltzer (main ride) 'Frozen' Fun House (supporting) 'Eat It and Beat It' Kiosk (food)
Peebles Funfair	Exact date unknown, though is part of the traditional Borders travel route establishes ca. 1300	21/06/2017-24/06/2017 Duration: 4 days	Victoria Park	21/06/2017 – 19:00-22:00 23/06/2017 – 18:00-22:00 25/06/2017 – 12:30-17:00; 18:30-22:00	Fieldwork Duration: 3 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Home's Pleasure Fairs Ground surface: Grass Hoopla attractions: 33 Rides: 17 Food stalls: 6 Number of fairgoers: 570 Crowds gather at (time):

					12:30 – young children and families 19:30 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Twister' Twist (main ride) 'Rock'N'Roll' Jolly Tube (main ride) 'Jungle Run' Inflatable (supporting) 'Laughing Clowns' Stall (hoopla)
Perth Funfair	Exact date unknown	05/07/2017-15/07/2017 Duration: 11 days	South Inch	07/07/2017 – 20:00-22:30 08/07/2017 – 12:30-16:45; 18:20-23:00 14/07/2017 – 17:30-19:00 15/07/2017 – 14:00-21:00	Fieldwork Duration: 4 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Spencer's £1 Funfairs Ground surface: Grass Hoopla attractions: 11 Rides: 11 Food stalls: 2 Number of fairgoers: 673 Crowds gather at (time): 13:30 – young children and families 20:30 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Rhythm Master' Waltzer (main ride) 'Meteorite' Round Up (main ride) Trampolines (supporting) 'Fireman Sam' Water Guns (supporting)
Glasgow Fair	1190	14/07/2017-16/07/2017 Duration: 3 days	Glasgow Green	14/07/2017 – 21:00-22:00 16/07/2017 – 14:00-21:00	Fieldwork Duration: 2 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Scottish Showmen's Guild Ground surface: Grass

					Hoopla attractions: 17 Rides: 15 Food stalls: 7 Number of fairgoers: 5000 Crowds gather at (time): 15:30 – young children and families 20:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): Waltzer (main ride) 'Overturn' (main ride) Bungee trampolines (supporting) 'Hook-A-Duck' (supporting)
Bridge of Allan Funfair	Exact date unknown, though dates back to early celebration of highland games in 1500s	02/08/2017-06/08/2017 Duration: 5 days	Strathallan Games Park	02/08/2017 – 18:45-22:15 05/08/2017 – 12:30-16:45; 18:30-21:45	Fieldwork Duration: 2 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Hiscoes Funfairs Ground surface: Grass Hoopla attractions: 19 Rides: 13 Food stalls: 2 Number of fairgoers: 500 Crowds gather at (time): 14:30 – young children and families 19:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Roller Ghoster' Ghost Train (main ride) Orbiter (main ride) 'Safari' Inflatable (supporting) 'Donuts' (food)
South Queensferry	Exact date unknown	08/08/2017-13/08/2017 Duration: 6 days	South Queensferry Promenade	08/08/2017 – 19:00-22:00 12/08/2017 – 12:30-17:45; 19:00-23:00	Fieldwork Duration: 2 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair

					Lessee: Robertson's Funfairs Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 10 Rides: 9 Food stalls: 2 Number of fairgoers: 370 Crowds gather at (time): 13:0 – young children and families; teenagers and young adults 20:30 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Crazy Frog' Jumper (main ride) 'Move It' Tagada (main ride) 'Jungle Madness' Funhouse (supporting) 'Posh Nosh' (food)
St. Andrews Lammas Fair	13 th Century	10/08/2017-15/08/2017 Duration: 5 days	St. Andrews town centre	10/08/2017 – 18:00-21:00 13/08/2017 – 13:00-19:00	Fieldwork Duration: 2 days Type of fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Scottish Showmen's Guild Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 21 Rides: 19 Food stalls: 7 Number of fairgoers: 3500 Crowds gather at (time): 14:00 – children and families 18:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): Waltzer (main ride) Ghost Train (main ride)
Inverness Bught Park Funfair	Exact date unknown	26/08/2017-04/09/2017 Duration: 10 days	Bught Park	26/08/2017 – 14:00-19:00; 20:30-22:00 30/08/2017 – 18:30-22:10	Fieldwork Duration: 3 days

				02/09/2017 – 15:00-20:00	Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Home's Pleasure Fairs Ground surface: Grass Hoopla attractions: 16 Rides: 11 Food stalls: 4 Number of fairgoers: 120 Crowds gather at (time): 13:30 – young children and families 20:30 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): Waltzer (main ride) Dodgems (hoopla)
Dumfries Rood Fair	Exact date unknown, though traces back to James VI establishment of fairs in 1400s	28/09/2017-30/09/2017 Duration: 3 days	Whitesands	28/09/2017 – 16:00-22:00 29/09/2017 – 17:00-22:30 30/09/2017 – 13:00-17:00; 19:00-23:00	Fieldwork Duration: 3 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Scottish Showmen's Guild Ground surface: Asphalt Hoopla attractions: 21 Rides: 17 Food stalls: 7 Number of fairgoers: 2000 Crowds gather at (time): 15:30 – young children and families 20:00 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): Waltzer (main ride) Juvenile teacups (hoopla)
Dundee Funfair	Exact date unknown	04/10/2017-13/10/2017 Duration: 10 days	Riverside Park	04/10/2017 – 19:00-21:00 08/10/2017 – 18:30-22:00 10/10/2017 – 13:00-17:30; 19:00-22:30	Fieldwork Duration: 3 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Home's Pleasure Fairs Ground surface: Grass

					Hoopla attractions: 21 Rides: 14 Food stalls: 3 Number of fairgoers: 630 Crowds gather at (time): 13:30 – young children and families 20:30 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Twister' Twist (main ride) 'Mini Jets' (juvenile ride) 'Minions' Inflatable Play Area (supporting)
Livingston Funfair	Exact date unknown, though traces back to traditional Edinburgh circuit established ca. 1350	19/10/2017-23/10/2017 Duration: 5 days	Howden Park	21/10/2017 – 20:00-22:00 23/10/2017 – 14:00-18:30; 19:30-22:00	Fieldwork Duration: 2 days Type of Fair: Wristband fair or pay-as-you-go fair Lessee: Thomsons Funfairs Ground surface: Grass Hoopla attractions: 13 Rides: 12 Food stalls: 3 Number of fairgoers: 970 Crowds gather at (time): 13:30 – young children and families 20:30 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): Waltzer (main ride) Ghost Train (main ride) Inflatable Kicker (supporting)
Irn-Bru Carnival	1920	20/12/2017-10/01/2018 Duration: 22 days	SECC	20/12/2017 – 19:00-22:00 23/12/2017 – 14:00-19:00 02/01/2018 – 13:00-17:00; 19:30-22:30	Fieldwork Duration: 3 days Type of Fair: Pay-per-ride fair Lessee: Irn-Bru Ground surface: Concrete Hoopla attractions: 21 Rides: 14

					Food stalls: 3 Number of fairgoers: 630 Crowds gather at (time): 13:30 – young children and families 20:30 – teenagers and young adults Crowds gather at (place): 'Twister' Twist (main ride) 'Mini Jets' (juvenile ride) 'Minions' Inflatable Play Area (supporting)
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Appendix B – Interview Questions: Object Examination

1. What is the object?
2. How old is the object?
3. Where is the object located/stored/kept? Both in terms of geographical location (e.g. city) and in terms of physical location (e.g. lorry, house, shed, archive)?
4. What is/was the object used for? What is it designed to do?
5. How does the object work? Mechanically? How is it put together?
6. What materials does the object consist out of?
7. Is it: Still used? Retired? Awaiting repair?
 - a. If retired, why is it not used anymore?
 - b. If awaiting repair when will this be completed? How is this done? Do you do it?
8. How is it stored? Are there any specific storage practices that you follow?
9. Do you have any sense of attachment to the object in question?
 - a. If so, what?
10. How was the object made? And where was it made?
11. Why have you kept this object?

The above questions were implemented as standard questions when looking at particular objects. Throughout my research these questions were further supplemented with unstructured questions that resulted naturally during conversation. These additional questions varied between objects, and also between storage location.

Appendix C – National Fairground and Circus Archive Collections

Scrivens and Smith Collection (NFA0013)

178C23.1

Lang Wheels Manufacturing Limited: 64 black and white prints of dodgem cars, roundabouts, and other machines, of which 49 relate to Lang Wheels

178E1.1

Ling (John): John Ling's memories of a travelling life, recorded by Stephen Smith, 1991. 3 audio cassette recordings.

David Braithwaite Collection (NFA0053)

178B14.2

Murphy (Thomas): The evolution of amusement machines. In: Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, No.4855, 7 September 1951 London, The Royal Society of Arts, 1951 791-806pp. Illus. 25cm

178B14.3

Brown (K.M.): Fairground Roundabouts [Part 1]. In: Model Engineer, Vol 133(3327), 18 August 1967 Model Aeronautical Press Ltd, 1967 793-796pp. Illus. 25cm

178B14.4

Brown (K.M.): Fairground Roundabouts [Part 2]. In: Model Engineer, Vol 133(3328), 1 September 1967 Model Aeronautical Press Ltd, 1967 850-852pp. Illus. 25cm

178F11.1

Braithwaite (David): 2 letters dealing with acquisition of Orton and Spooner material, 1976 1976 Typescript

178F11.2

Braithwaite (David): 3 letters corresponding with Savages, 1953, 1957 under Braithwaite's old name David Bottoms 1953, 1957 Typescript

178F11.3

Braithwaite (David): Large selection of letters corresponding with H.J. Barker of the British Fairground Society, 1953-1961, including some letters under Braithwaite's old name David Bottoms 1953-1961 Typescript and manuscript

178H8.5

Orton and Spooner: 2 letters from L.M. Miller to Charles Spooner, 1922, regarding a price list and order for horses 19th and 28th July 1922 Typescript and manuscript

Paul Braithwaite Collection (NFA0114)

178B23.4

Notes, transcripts on interviews and research material for 'A Palace on Wheels' book, including a typed manuscript of the book and photocopies of images of fairground wagons

178B23.6

Research on Carter's gallopers for book, including some pencil sketches of rides, newspaper and magazine articles and photocopies as well as manuscripts.

Appendix D – Glasgow City Archive Collections, Mitchell Library

Glasgow Collection

GC 398.5 GLA

The Sights of Glasgow Fair

Song from '*Old Glasgow Street Songs etc., 1850*'

GC 398.5 GLA

Humours of Glasgow Fair

Song from '*Old Glasgow Street Songs etc., 1850*'

GC 398.5 GLA

Glasgow Fair

Song from '*Old Glasgow Street Songs etc., 1850*'

GC 398.5 GLA

Glasgow Fair on the Banks of the Clyde

Song from '*Old Glasgow Street Songs etc., 1850*'

Individual Items

GB243/TD462 – repository code 243

Poster advertising the appearance of Monsieur Chabert at Glasgow Fair, c. 1827

Appendix E – Online Archive Collections

Photographic Collections – University of St. Andrews

GMC-23-45-5

Lammas Fair, South Street, St. Andrews

August 1958

Cowie, George Middlemass

GMC-23-45-9

Lammas Fair, South Street, St. Andrews

August 1958

Cowie, George Middlemass

ALB-27-10-1

Lammas Market, St. Andrews

1905

Anonymous

MS38075 p.25

Dancing at the Lammas Fair

1890

The Burrell Collection Photo Library [online via ‘The Glasgow Story’]

660.83.162

The Govan Fair Procession

1955

Partick Camera Club

1005-97-16/ OG.1995.121[16]

A Funfair on Glasgow Green

1955

Partick Camera Club

Scottish Screen Archive

GB2120/SSA 5/7/155

Charles A. Oakley Records

1955

GB2120/SSA 5/18

George Kemp Ltd.

c. 1900-1982

Appendix F – Interview Questions: Technicalities of Site

1. What do you need in order to own rides/stalls/kiosks?
2. What do you need in order to run a fair?
3. What are the differences in between going to a fair with a particular ride and running the site?
4. What is involved in creating a fairground site?
5. Who organises the fairs?
6. What are the health and safety regulations that you have to pass for rides/ stalls/ food kiosks? How often is this enforced?
7. What are the health and safety expectations of running a site?
8. Is there a specific way in which the fairs are set up – is there a specific politics to the site?
9. What determines who goes to which fair?
10. Have these regulations changed over time?

These questions were designed to inform my knowledge about site construction and health and safety regulations at the fair; additional questions were asked of individual Showpeople as they developed out of conversation.

Appendix G – Interview Questions: Showpeople

1. What is your name?
2. Where do you live?
3. Were your ancestors involved in the trade?
4. Are your current family involved in the trade?
5. What is your profession?
 - a. Are you still involved in the fairground trade?
 - b. What kind of materials do you own?
6. How do you define yourself?
7. What do you know about the general history of travelling fairs?
 - a. Do you have any particular stories/legends/historical facts/anecdotes?
 - b. What is your personal history with the fair?
8. What does the fair mean to you?
 - a. Do you have any particular stories/legends/historical facts/anecdotes?
9. How do you create the fair?
 - a. What do you think the fair should represent?
 - b. Do you create the fair to represent a certain atmosphere?
 - c. If so, how do you do this?
10. What do you want fairgoers to experience at the fair?
 - a. What do you think fairgoers experience?
 - b. What kind of memories do you think fairgoers have of the fair?
11. What are your memories of the fair?
12. What is the history of fairground food?
 - a. How did particular foods come to be popular?
 - b. Have the processes of preparation changed at all?
 - c. What role do you think food plays in the fair?
 - d. Do you think food impacts fairgoers experiences? If so, how?
13. What is the history of different fairground rides?
 - a. How did they develop?
 - b. How have the mechanics of the fair changed over time?

Appendix H – Interview Questions: Enthusiasts

1. What is your name?
2. Where do you live?
3. What is your profession?
4. What kind of enthusiast are you?
 - a. What elements of the fairground are you interested in?
5. How do you define yourself?
6. Do you belong to a community of enthusiasts or do you work individually?
7. How long have you been interested in fairground research?
8. Have you ever worked on a fairground?
9. What do you know about the general history of travelling fairs?
 - a. Do you have any particular stories/legends/historical facts/anecdotes?
 - b. What is your personal history with the fair? How did you become interested in fairgrounds?
10. What does the fair mean to you?
 - a. Do you have any particular stories/legends/historical facts/anecdotes?
11. What do you think a travelling fair represents?
 - a. Do you experience a certain atmosphere?
12. What are your memories of the fair?
13. What do you know about the history of fairground food?
 - a. What role do you think food plays in the fair?
 - b. Do you think food impacts fairgoers experiences? If so, how?
14. What do you know about the history of different fairground rides?
 - a. How did they develop?
 - b. How have the mechanics of the fair changed over time?
15. What do you enjoy about being an enthusiast?
16. How do you practice your enthusiasm?
17. Are you involved in any preservation/conservation/outreach?
 - a. If so, what kind?

Appendix I – Interview Questions: Fairgoers

1. What did you just do?
2. What did you just experience?
 - a. Emotions, feelings, sensations?
3. In one word, summarise your experience.
4. What did you hear?
5. What did you smell?
6. What did you see?
7. What did you taste?
8. What is your favourite part of the fair?
9. What does the fair mean to you?
10. Do you have any particular memories of the fair?

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